

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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TERMS:—Issued monthly, 25 cents a number, \$3.00 a year in advance in the United States, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Cuba, Canada, Mexico, and the Philippines. Elsewhere \$4.00. Entered at New York Post Office as second class matter under Act of Congress, March 3, 1879. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions. (Subscriptions of the English REVIEW OF REVIEWS, which is edited and published in London, may be sent to this office, and orders for single copies can also be filled, at the price of \$2.50 for the yearly subscription, including postage, or 25 cents for single copies.)

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 30 Irving Place, New York

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



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HON. NEWTON DIEHL BAKER, SECRETARY OF WAR

(The announcement of Mr. Baker's arrival in France on March 10 gave the country its first intimation that he had left Washington. He has been familiarizing himself with all the conditions surrounding our own expeditionary troops, from their ports of debarkation on the French coast to their trench lines on the Lorraine front. He has also had opportunity to confer with the military and political authorities of France and Great Britain. He will find certain differences regarding war administration well adjusted when he returns. Mr. Baker is now in his forty-seventh year, and is considerably younger than any other member of the Cabinet. He was Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, for the four years 1912-16, and had been City Solicitor for the previous ten years. He was appointed to succeed Mr. Garrison in the Cabinet in March, 1916. His early home was at Charlestown, West Virginia, and he is a graduate of the Johns Hopkins University and the law school of Washington and Lee University)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LVII

NEW YORK, APRIL, 1918

No. 4

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

This magazine is mailed at the usual time; and under normal conditions it should reach its readers throughout the country on the first day of the month. If it is delayed, the cause is to be found in war-time congestion which affects the railroads and therefore hampers the efficiency of the postal service.

American Unity

Certain journalists and British officials arriving in this country within recent weeks have privately expressed themselves as astonished to find such harmony of political opinion and such unity of feeling in the United States. They had come from an atmosphere so different that it was an agreeable surprise to discover the sincerity with which Americans were supporting the President as war-time leader of the nation, and the vigor with which this country was throwing its energies and resources into the business at hand. From the American standpoint, the great war, whatever it might have been in its earlier stages, has now become a crusade for order, decency, and safety on sea and on land. We wish the absorbing enterprise to be conducted upon that high plane of moral purpose. Americans are anxious for peace, but do not think it will be necessary to accept the wrong kind.

Partisanship Not Excessive

In a country of political groups, where the machinery that selects candidates and carries on elections is in the hands of great rival parties that are two or three generations old, it is not possible, even in war time, to have party distinctions wholly disappear. We are coming into the early stages of preparation for the election of a new Congress; but we do not have to consider the election of a President for two more years. Our principal executive officials have a fixed tenure, while our Army and Navy leaders, having been professionally trained for their life work, constitute a group which we shall not fail to treat with due respect and to support

to the utmost in their efforts to uphold the honor of the country. When this is said, however, we shall not for a moment forget that ours is also an educated democracy that rules itself in war time as well as in peace, and that will not brook any suppression of freedom to think, to speak, or to write, upon matters of vital public concern. Freedom of this kind must, of course, be used in a way compatible with loyal citizenship.

Criticism of Methods Is Helpful

In no previous war period of our history has there been anything resembling the unanimity of support that is accorded the Administration in its present war measures. So overwhelming has been this spirit of national solidarity that it has been attended with some incidental dangers. The nation having thus fully accepted the President's expressions of the country's aims, there has been a tendency to assume that nobody at Washington could make mistakes in laying out a practical war program. This periodical has supported the President's policy with unflinching appreciation, while not shirking the duty of discussing the practical steps to be taken in making America most efficient and successful in its support of the Allied cause. Thus, while endorsing to an unlimited extent the Government's great financial programs and its campaigns for food production and for shipbuilding, we have taken the view that the Army policy was being pushed more rapidly than the other parts of the national program justified. We have considered that the draft law, as put into practice, was concerned too exclusively with obtaining soldiers, and was worked out by

men who did not at first wholly understand the equal importance in our first year of the war of the Government's industrial and agricultural policies, as definitely adopted.

*Improving
Morale*

But whatever mistakes were made only served to demonstrate the fine discipline of the country. The draft regulations, in spite of their earlier mistakes, were carried out conscientiously by the officials and devotedly by the country. Fortunately, the officials have been willing to learn, have seen their mistakes, have entirely revised the regulations, and future applications of the draft law will be with due regard to the needs of shipbuilding, of railroading, and of farming. The cause of the Allies will be greatly benefited by modifications of our program that will make all of its parts more successful. We are just now completing our first year as one of the belligerent powers in the great war. As we enter upon our second year, we find our two fighting services, the Navy and the Army, each giving an excellent account of itself as respects its personnel and its spirit. The country is supporting both services without stinting men or money.

*Standardizing
War
Industry*

Turning for a moment from the fighting phases of the war to those that involve the equally necessary efforts of the nation as a whole, we find that the two foremost tasks as we enter upon the second year of the war are the production of the largest possible amount of food in the crop season of the present year, and the speeding up of the shipbuilding program. Both of these vital matters are affected seriously by the shortage of labor. The ships are building in a great number of new yards. We are rapidly introducing into shipbuilding the principles of uniform quantity production, on what is known as the standardized plan. Germany uses this plan in constructing her submarines. Certain parts of the boats are made in shops and mills scattered variously throughout the country. These parts are assembled where they can be put together rapidly, the result being a considerable number of finished boats that are exactly alike with interchangeable parts. At present our shipbuilding program is encountering delays and difficulties; but we are inclined to the opinion that after a few months more the output will become surprisingly large. The labor for building ships can be supplied in great part by estab-

lishments making articles for which there is a diminished demand in war time. The standardizing methods are adopted for various war supplies, and are to be applied in the national railroad service.

*Meeting the
Farm Labor
Shortage*

The problem of farm labor is more difficult, because, contrary to the opinion of many people living in cities, the efficient farmhand is very much harder to train than the artisans who work in munitions factories or in many so-called skilled trades. This is because there are so many different kinds of work to be done on the ordinary farm. High wages in many kinds of industry have within three or four years taken away scores of thousands of workers from the farms, while the Army has drawn away hundreds of thousands. Fortunately, it is now the apparent purpose of the authorities at Washington not only to defer the taking of necessary labor from the farms in the drafting of soldiers, but also, in so far as possible, to allow trained soldiers now in the camps who are skilled farmers to be furloughed for helping in harvest time and at the critical periods of the farm season. States and localities are making most commendable efforts to sustain their farm production, and our worthy war governors are showing bold leadership and adopting many innovations in their endeavor to see that crops are plentiful and that there shall be a harvest time following a seed time. Governor Sleeper of Michigan, in this number of the REVIEW, sends a welcome message to our readers concerning the policies and efforts that his State has entered upon in view of the emergency.

*The Present-Day
Farmer's
Capacity*

The Department of Agriculture at Washington, with its thousands of agents and representatives throughout the country, has been finding out where labor is most needed, where there is lack of seed grain, or where transportation facilities are required to supply fertilizers and farm machinery. Fortunately, the typical American farmer is precisely the opposite of that slouchy personage that one sees on the stage or in the comic papers. He has a remarkable skill in the use of varied machinery. If he has not been plowing with a tractor, he has been merely waiting for the manufacturers to get through the experimental stage and give him a serviceable machine at a proper price. Millions of gasoline and kerosene engines of all sorts are



Photograph from Commercial Vehicle

THE NEW "LIBERTY" MOTOR TRUCK BUILT ON THE ARMY'S PLANS—AN INSTANCE OF STRICT STANDARDIZATION
 (These trucks are steadily moving across the country in fleets from the factories, carrying war material and using designated highways)

in use on American farms; and the productive capacity of the individual American farmer is very large, by reason of his use of machines.

*The Demand
On Our
Farmers*

The lack of efficient farm labor is not due merely to the drafting of young farmers to serve in the army, although more than half a million of them are in military uniform. The abnormal wage conditions, and the demand for labor in the munition plants and in the rapidly expanding war industries, have taken probably an even larger number of men from farm work to draw high pay and have a change of experience in this period of general unrest. The reaction upon the wages of farm labor is sharper than most employing farmers can well meet, even with the increased price of farm products. The danger, therefore, is that there may be some actual shrinkage in both the acreage and the efficiency of standard-crop production, or at least that we may come short of the demand that is not content to seek good average results, but that calls for bumper crops breaking all previous records. The foreign demands for bread and meat which the United States must try to supply will be more imperative by far in the two years that lie just ahead of us than in the two past seasons.

*Will the South
Feed
Itself?*

Surveying this situation in its international aspects, Secretary Houston, Mr. Hoover and the Washington authorities are trying to secure the adoption of a number of plans that will lessen the danger of a food crisis. For example: Labor is relatively more abundant in the farther South than in the North; but the price of cotton is so high that the South is tempted to neglect food production in order to enrich itself by selling record crops of its precious fibre. We have been told by the Washington authorities that the South has been in the habit of buying almost a thousand million dollars worth of food from the North and West. But the South can produce unlimited quantities of grain, pork, beef cattle, poultry, and dairy products, not to mention almost every kind of fruit and vegetable. Last year the patriotic men and women of the South vastly diminished their demand upon the West and North for food articles. This year the South is going to make a supreme effort to do still better. The railroad administration may perhaps stimulate the movement for Southern self-supply in food, although of course Mr. McAdoo will not discriminate unfairly. There is a great deal of human energy in all parts of the country—and certainly among members of both races in the South—that needs arousing.



GOVERNOR HUGH M. DORSEY, OF GEORGIA, IN THE RECENT WAR GARDEN DEMONSTRATION AT ATLANTA

(Georgia is entering the garden movement with great enthusiasm this year. Governor Dorsey last month won a prize in a contest with Mayor Candler, of Atlanta, in connection with the great War Garden parade, in which thousands of school children and citizens took part)

*Value of
Home
Gardens*

One of the most useful of the projects that the departments at Washington are promoting is the home-garden system. Last year the garden movement met with much success and with some failure. The truck gardeners—those who undertook to supply nearby city markets with immense quantities of perishable green things at a given moment—suffered a good deal of disappointment. Potato farmers and onion farmers in some sections lost money. But corrective adjustments are being worked out, and such situations are less likely to be created this year. The greatest practical benefit from the home gardens should arise from the fact that for almost or quite six months of the year so much food can be supplied currently from the garden to the kitchen as to lessen greatly the need of buying flour, meat, and canned supplies. The nutritious vegetables—beans, peas, beets, early potatoes, sweet corn, and various others—will not only save market bills for particular families, but will in truth save the lives of hungry people in Western Europe by increasing the exportable surpluses of wheat and the other food articles that bear ocean voyages. One of the great lead-

ers in this garden movement is the Hon. P. P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education at Washington, who is himself a practical farmer and gardener, while also one of the wisest of the leaders of present-day America. He has contributed to this number of the REVIEW a statement about the army of schoolboys and schoolgirls that is to be nationalized at once for garden work. This is a movement that is not to end in words and exhortations, but is to be written in visible achievement upon bits of land in every neighborhood of the country.

*The
Handy City
Boy*

While it is true that efficient farm workers are not easily recruited from city people who have never lived or worked on farms, there is some chance of utilizing the new help through the increasing use of machinery. The city boy who understands automobiles, or has learned something of the use of tools in manual-training courses, can often be made useful on a farm by being quickly trained as a specialist. As Governor Sleeper explains in his statement for our readers this month, the farm tractors that the commonwealth of Michigan is distributing to farmers must be kept going all the time, and neighbors must coöperate. The city boy who has handled automobiles and understands their mechanism can be taught quickly how to operate and take care of a farm tractor, although his ploughing will have to be supervised by the experienced farmer.

*Training
the
"Greenhorns"*

It would be a great relief to the employing farmer if the county government or some other agency should establish some kind of simple training school for the initiation of men and boys from cities who are willing to learn farm work. Otherwise, each individual farmer has to go through the painful experience of breaking in people who are entirely green. Even a two-weeks course in such a county training school would make a vast difference. Thousands of our counties now employ an official known as the County Agent to advise and help the farmer; and these agents would know precisely how to have an elementary farm school carried on, with some inexpensive barracks adjacent to a farm that could be used for instruction. Many of the states, meanwhile, are helping the farmers to finance the purchase of additional machinery; and it is now realized that the farming situation is vital.

Awakening
Social
Energy

That war is a fearful calamity; that it is a destructive process; that it diverts energy from the calm and wholesome paths of progress: these things are admitted by all thoughtful people. It is true, on the other hand, that long periods of uninterrupted prosperity and of increasing ease and comfort, bring incidental social evils along with many social blessings. One of the evils is a tendency to come far short of a full use of personal and social energy. The terrible seriousness of a vast emergency like war arouses men to the use of capacities which had been dormant. The wastage of war is deplorable and saddening. Statesmen of conscience like Mr. Lloyd George have declared that to prolong the war for a single day beyond the chance of making an honorable peace would be an unspeakable crime. But the wastage would be still greater, and the dreary horror of war only intensified, if the community should merely act in a depressed and dazed fashion, and should not arouse itself to noble effort, putting aside sloth and self-indulgence, and uniting for the mastery of difficulties.

Making a
Better
Country

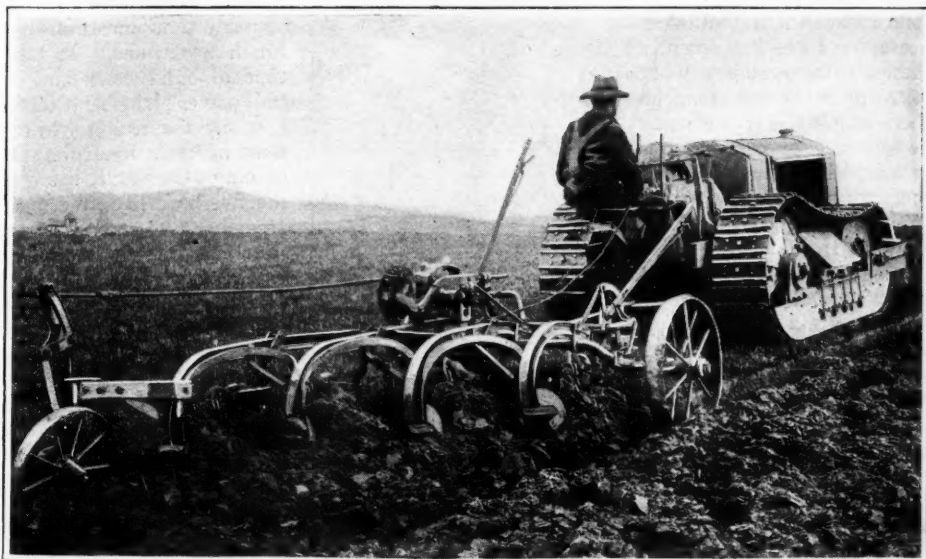
Our young men, as their courage is tested in action at sea and on the battle-front, do not fail in any of the attributes of heroism or self-sacrifice. It is the business of all the rest of us to support them, and to relieve them in every possible way. If the war is to be a



THE GREATEST SPRING DRIVE
From the Mail (New York)

(While much of the work of the sturdy farmer must continue to be done by the man who walks in the furrow, it would surprise those not acquainted with present-day American farming to know how extensive is the use of labor-saving machinery, some of it highly specialized. By way of contrast, note the picture below, which presents an actual farmer driving a caterpillar tractor, which pulls a series of four ploughshares, and by working long hours can take the place of half a dozen men and twenty horses working in the old-time way)

short one, so much the better. Our soldiers must return from camp and field, our seamen from the stormy perils of the sea, to find their



FARMING BY UP-TO-DATE METHODS—A TYPICAL WESTERN SCENE

places in a better country than they had known before. If the war is to be a long one, there must be kinds of cooperative effort to support it that the country is only beginning to apprehend. We must not let this nation "run down" or "wear out." If mistaken policies had, as we think, made our railroad system unfit for its tasks, we must build it up even while prosecuting the war—standardizing rolling stock and unifying a thousand processes with the wastage of competition all removed. We can make transportation serve the people better than ever before. Articles in this number of the REVIEW show how the use of motor trucks and the improved highway system can supplement the services of the great steam railroads. Meanwhile, many things can and must be done in the enlarged use of resources hitherto undeveloped.

*Secretary
Lane's
Proposals*

For instance, we have at the head of the Interior Department a public man who has prophetic vision as well as administrative efficiency. For several years he has been trying to build up the country through the better use of its natural endowments. He knows the hidden wealth of our public lands. He understands in terms of human welfare what it means to allow the great water powers of the country to remain unutilized. Secretary Lane has recently shown to the country what a saving of ocean tonnage there would be if we made prompt use of certain mineral deposits of our own, and thereby relieved the ships from the bringing in of like material from distant places. For a number of years Secretary Lane has tried to bring about a final solution of the problem of allowing capital to develop water power, while safeguarding the future public interest. Not infrequently during the past five years have we expressed the too sanguine opinion that Congress was about to settle this important matter under the leadership

of Secretary Lane. If better use of water power had been made previous to our entrance into the war, the railroads would have been relieved of a large part of their burden of hauling coal, while the severe shock to industry of the recent fuel famine would have been wholly avoided.

*The New
Water-Power
Bill*

Last month Mr. Lane went before the proper committee of the House of Representatives to explain a bill that has been advocated in a joint letter issued by himself as the head of the Interior Department and Secretaries Baker and Houston on behalf of their Departments. This measure retains the best features of the Shields bill, which goes to the House from the Senate, but has amendments which meet existing conditions. The bill provides for the creation of a Federal Power Commission to be composed of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Agriculture. Its purpose now is not only to provide for the development of water power, but also for the improvement of navigation. Instead of a wasteful plan of river improvement, we are to have an efficient plan, so that the dams are to give us an immense increase of electric power, and we are also to have river and canal conditions that will afford the use of many thousands of barges for heavy traffic. It takes time to build dams and install power plants; but that is precisely the reason why we must make an immediate beginning. Our fault has been that we have lived too much from hand to mouth in our development policies. Mr. Lane has expressed it well in a letter he has written to the editor of this magazine, and which we are printing herewith. One of the causes of delay in water power development heretofore has been the demand of certain interests in the West that the Federal Government should relinquish its control and give it to the States. But it is believed that all



HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE
(Secretary of the Interior)

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR, ON WATER POWER
FROM HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

The thing that a democracy is short on is foresight. We are too much embedded and incrustated in the things that flow around us during the day, and think too little of the future. For five long weary years I have been agitating for the use of the water powers of the United States. We estimate the unused power in tens and tens of millions of horsepower. Right in New York you have in the Erie Canal 150,000 horsepower, and on the Niagara River you have probably a million unused. If you had a great dam across the river below the rapids we should have water power in chains like fire horses in their stalls that could be brought out at the time of need.

But we are thinking in large figures these days, and while we used to be afraid to ask for a few hundred thousand dollars we now talk in millions. Some day we may realize that to put the cost of a week's war into power plants in the United States would be money well invested.

John D. Ryan called on me the other day. He said that he has an unused power plant on the Missouri River developing 150,000 horsepower that he is going to put into the reduction of manganese ore, and when he gets to capacity five ships of 5,000 tons each can be taken off of the run from Brazil and put into the business of carrying supplies across the Atlantic. The ore is there, and by Mr. Ryan's foresight the power is there.

We have no law under which private capital feels justified in investing a dollar in a water power plant where public lands are involved, because the permit granted is revocable at the pleasure of the Secretary of the Interior, and capital does not enjoy the prospect of making its future returns dependent upon the good digestion of the Secretary. But if we can get this bill through which I enclose we will be able to handle the powers on all streams on the public lands and forests and on all navigable waters, and give assurance to capital that it will be well taken care of if it makes the investment. Such a bill should have been law long ago, and I have been fighting for it for five years. We are coming nearer to it every month. Perhaps before this session of Congress ends it will pass.

elements will now accept the plan of the Federal Commission, and that private capital will be willing to make investments on the terms provided in the bill.

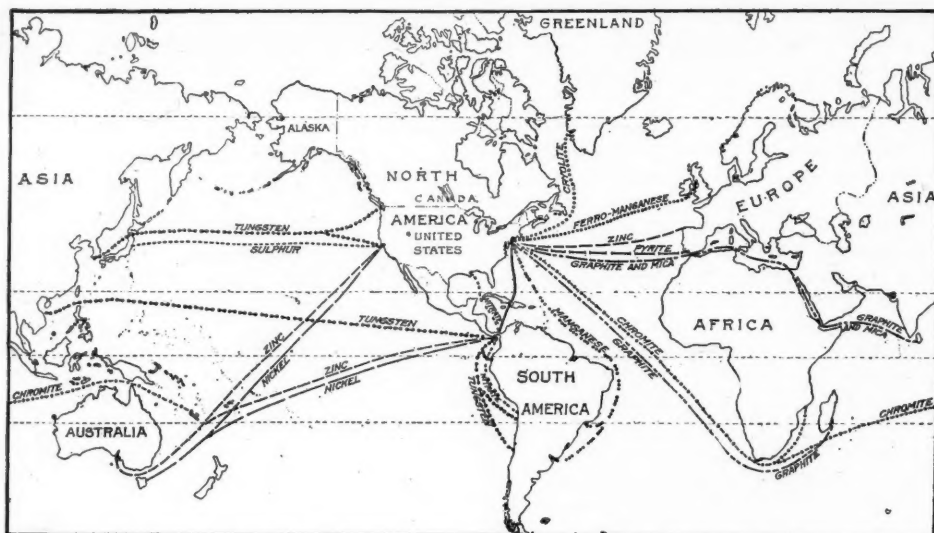
**Minerals for
Making
Munitions**

We are reproducing on the next page a map prepared under Secretary Lane's direction, showing the ocean routes by which we bring to this country two million tons a year of certain minerals which, as he assures the public, can very quickly be developed at home, thus saving ocean tonnage. These include the most important materials for the making of munitions. High-power explosives require nitric and sulphuric acids, and these are made from materials now largely imported. Sulphur, pyrite, graphite, tin, mercury, potash, tungsten, manganese, chromite, magnesite and mica are among the materials to which Secretary Lane refers, a number of them being essential in metallurgical processes. Mr. Lane has asked Congress to make a

special appropriation so that our scientific and technical experts can work out the practical methods for utilizing the deposits of all those minerals which are known to exist in this country. The Bureau of Mines has made its survey of the pyrite deposits and the principal sulphur fields. It has studied the manganese deposits, and is confident that we can readily produce great supplies of acids and other materials. We have plenty of scientific ability, and we must not hesitate to utilize it for national ends with as much foresight and determination as Germany has shown with far inferior resources to work upon. The experts ask public support.

**Building
for the
Long Run**

There lies in the minds of farsighted men like Secretary Lane and Secretary Houston the unshaken purpose to give the country much that is valuable in permanent development while rising to meet crises of war emergency. Secretary McAdoo has the same constructive



SECRETARY LANE'S MAP SHOWING THE OCEAN ROUTES OF CARGO VESSELS THAT BRING VARIOUS MINERALS NEEDED FOR WAR INDUSTRY TO AMERICAN PORTS

purpose in his transportation plans. While concentrating on the haulage of materials most necessary for the war, the Director-General of Railroads wishes to maintain general business activities in so far as possible, and to find the railroad system in better permanent shape at the end of the war than at the beginning. In like manner the Shipping Board is looking to the future of our commerce; and in providing for the building of cargo carriers the Board realizes that it is almost as easy to give a permanent character to the new shipyards and port improvements as a purely temporary one for war objects. Even the War Industries Board has undoubtedly in mind not merely the transmutation of factories making musical instruments or sewing machines into establishments fabricating weapons or war supplies, but *vice versa*, the ultimate turning back of many munition plants into factories for the making of things demanded in normal times.

Good Houses for Everybody. One of the most notable of these statesmanlike endeavors to make war activity serve also the ends of permanent human progress is that for improved housing. Congress has responded to the Administration's demand with an initial grant of \$50,000,000, which is to provide a beginning particularly for the housing of workers in the shipyards. Ships must be built where they can be launched in navigable water. New yards cannot all be placed in

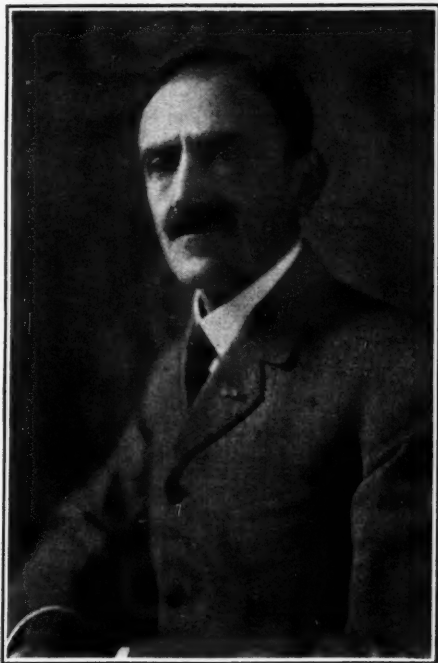
immediate proximity to large towns. Even where such towns are near, the sudden concentration of thousands of workers in new war industries creates demand for housing accommodation that requires much new building. Contractors who are expected to build a certain number of ships for the Government within a short specified period find their chief difficulty in securing an efficient labor supply. Many of these shipbuilding companies cannot afford, unaided, to invest millions in providing houses for their employees. To expedite the shipbuilding it becomes necessary to meet this housing problem. The directing minds fortunately are agreed that even in war-time we can afford to deal with housing questions in a civilized way. Good builders, good architects, good sanitary engineers, are to see that the new houses for workmen are comfortable, modern, and suitable for an intelligent democracy. This country of ours is not destined to be one of contrasting palaces and hovels. We are within months, rather than years, of a day when some at least of our States will ordain that no family of its citizens shall be indecently housed. This should be one of the great slogans that ought to prevail with the granting of full political rights to women. Thus the appropriation at Washington of \$50,000,000 as a starter for housing certain classes of war workers may well lead to a movement throughout the land for the providing of a decent home for every household.

Uncle Sam's
Huge Insurance
Business

The thing that would in any case have given Mr. Lloyd George a permanent place in the history of British social progress was his leadership, some years ago, in the establishment of a national system of insurance for working people against the hazards of sickness, accident, and old age. Excepting for the miseries of war, the fact of poverty has been the greatest curse of mankind in modern times. It is one of the most appropriate functions of an organized democracy to mitigate such evils by promoting thrift and providing safeguards. The principle of insurance is one of the most beneficent that mankind has put into practise. It is notable, therefore, that the Government of the United States has now become the greatest insurance company in the world, in the aggregate amount of the policies it has already written under the novel system of soldiers' and sailors' insurance and war risks that Congress adopted last October. Professor Lindsay, who was active in helping to work out the system when the bill was pending, writes for us this month on the scheme as now in force, giving particular attention to those more temporary phases, the allotments and allowances for dependent families. Looking to the future, it is safe enough to say that this experience of ours in the field of governmental life insurance will lead to projects for surrounding workmen and their families with the safeguards of a system that will greatly lessen that dread of poverty which, heretofore, has so clouded the lives of millions of deserving and industrious men, women, and children. Having taken up marine insurance in the face of submarine risks, Secretary McAdoo dares to insure the lives of soldiers approaching the front.



A TYPICAL COTTAGE OF FOUR ROOMS—ONE OF MANY BUILT BY A PENNSYLVANIA SHIPBUILDING COMPANY FOR ITS EMPLOYEES



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HON LEO S. ROWE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

(Dr. Rowe is well known as professor of political science in the University of Pennsylvania, and executive secretary of the permanent High Commission of American Republics. Last year he became one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury, and among other things has been active in helping to create the Government's system of insurance for soldiers, which is now more directly managed by Assistant Secretary Love)

We have just remarked that next to the miseries of war, the greatest evil of modern civilized countries has been the dread, and the realization, of the miseries of poverty; and we have suggested that applications of the principle of insurance—as in several European countries—can greatly lessen the unhappiness and suffering that sickness and old age bring to the poor. There is another application, however, of the principle of insurance that we have frequently advocated in this periodical, as applying to the supreme misery—that which war brings to mankind. The great goal to be attained is the establishment of a mutual insurance society for doing away with wars, and for the protection of the associated nations against any outlaw race or tribe that may choose to disturb the peace by an appeal to force. This league of nations for disarmament, for friendship, and for the adjustment of difficulties by rational means, may be nearer at

Insurance
Against World-
War

hand than the cynical are inclined to think. More and more each month the Allies are inclining toward this American point of view, and are putting aside their rival and separate aims of national aggrandizement. The supreme application, then, of the principle of insurance is to be found in the League of Nations that will protect the world against the unspeakable sorrow and misery of war.

*The Navy
Our Best
Protector*

Meanwhile, investment in self-defense, as against the designs of aggressive enemies, is a form of national insurance that has to be adopted. Little Switzerland, so situated as to be contiguous to four great powers, all of them engaged in war, while relying in part on the appeal to European good-will, never for a moment forgets that every young Swiss citizen must be trained to fight with modern weapons in order that the largest possible army may in the shortest possible time be mobilized as against any aggressive neighbor. In ordinary times, an island nation like Great Britain maintains a great navy as a

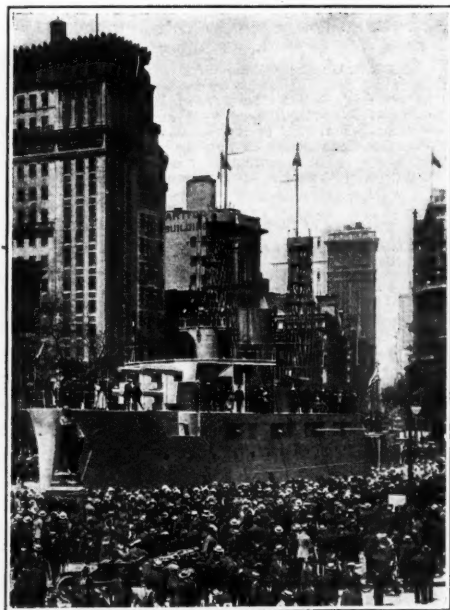
means of insuring to its people freedom from attack and a supply of food and other essentials. The United States, relatively to the powerful nations of the world, is also an island. Its best and cheapest form of insurance in times past has been the maintenance of an effective navy. As a continued safeguard against the danger of delay in securing the league of nations, with its policy of disarmament, the best possible form of insurance for the United States is to be that great American navy for which President Wilson and Secretary Daniels have declared themselves.

*Our
Accepted Naval
Policy*

Not only must we increase the navy with immediate reference to the German submarines, but we must also look to the development of our sea power by the carrying out of the full naval program, which requires swift armored cruisers and the most powerful battleships as well as the submarines, the destroyers, and the smaller vessels. As we have more than once remarked, we could have avoided the war with Spain and settled the Cuban question by negotiation, if our fleet had been stronger by only a few more ships. Spain's navy, in tonnage and guns, was about equal to ours. European experts encouraged Spain to fight on the ground that the American army was exceedingly small and the American fleet inferior rather than superior. We proved, indeed, to be far more efficient than Spain, and we won the war quickly. But our military and naval preparation at that time did not properly represent in magnitude the responsibilities of the place we had grown to occupy, not only in the Western Hemisphere but in the world. We must now proceed with our development of sea power on such a scale as to convince Germany that we do not intend to permit the use of the high seas to any government that will not join in ending forever such atrocious methods as Germany has pursued.

*The Big Ships
Also Will Be
Pushed*

Secretary Daniels holds this view without qualification. He has written a letter to the editor of this periodical, which we publish in this number (see page 375), in which he makes it clear that while the war against the submarine must have our concentrated attention, he will not abandon or delay the construction of the capital ships that our permanent program calls for. He also shows impressively the vastness of our naval ex-



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THE NAVY'S RECRUITING STATION IN UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY

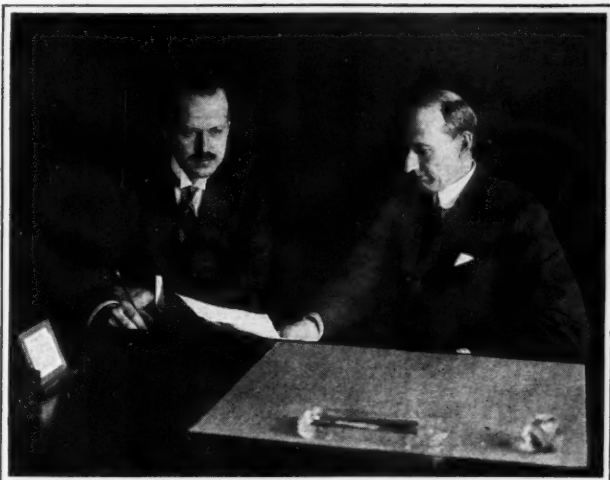
(For many months past this striking reproduction of a warship has been used by the Navy for recruiting purposes with great effect. Secretary Daniels addressed a large audience in Union Square from the deck of this battleship, *Recruit*, one Saturday afternoon last month. The dummy vessel is 200 feet long and 40 feet wide, and makes excellent offices)

pansion, in ships and in men, within the period of a single year. When the country comes to know fully the thrilling story of our navy's work in meeting the most serious situation ever encountered in the history of naval warfare, we shall have gratifying chapters to add to the record of a service of which the nation has always had reason to be proud.

*One Year
of Army
Growth* When General Pershing took his first division

over to France our very small mobile Regular Army, as it had existed only a few weeks or months before, had suddenly been diluted with new recruits to the extent of from 75 to 90 per cent. In order that an army thus multiplied several-fold should be leavened throughout with trained officers and experienced privates, it was necessary to break up the old formations. Many American readers even yet imagine that these first Pershing troops were seasoned regiments that had lately been serving in Mexico and on the border. All the trained officers were rapidly promoted, new officers were brought in who had been taught in the reserve camps, corporals and sergeants were given commissions, and the brand-new recruits, making up very much more than half of the advance guard for France, were licked into shape under the spur of dire necessity. Our responsible Army leaders understand these conditions perfectly. It would be well at this later stage to let the public understand also. Without any disparagement to the efforts of other governments, it is fair to claim that we have shaped up our new armies more rapidly than any other country.

*Distance
to Be
Considered* In putting as many men into France as we have now sent, we have overcome difficulties as to distance and shipping that show energy beyond any ever before expended in long-range military operations in the history of the world. In considering distances from base we must reckon not merely the perilous ocean voyage of more than 3000 miles, but the land situations at both ends. Our men



MR. HOWARD COFFIN (ON THE RIGHT) AND MR. W. S. GIFFORD, OF THE AIRCRAFT PRODUCTION BOARD

(Mr. Coffin, as chairman, has had much to do with creating the Government's aeronautic program, while Mr. Gifford was last month made director of the work of the board in recognition of his success in a like post with the Council of National Defense)

and supplies come from the centers of population and production, and have to be brought an average distance of say 1500 miles before embarking. Our fighting front in France is some 500 or 600 miles by rail from the ports which (with immense efforts and expenditure) we are converting into fine and permanent harbors with every modern facility. In a word, then, we are fighting on a front 5000 miles distant, while Germany, Austria, Italy, France, and England are fighting within sound of the big guns. Those Americans who continue to demand that we put as many millions of men on these fighting fronts as the European nations that are immediately involved, have evidently never considered the problem in its practical aspects. Having desired to face things as they are, we in this REVIEW have not hesitated to call attention to the danger of an unbalanced program at Washington. If we have been critical—on the ground that we have been making standing armies too fast in view of the immediate need of ships, aeroplanes, and surplus crops—our aim has been to help guide public opinion, in order that the President and his advisers might proceed to do their work in an atmosphere of sound reason and good judgment. Every factor is likely henceforth to have due weight at Washington. The hardest problems are now being faced without flurry, and with competent management.

*Modifying
the Military
Program*

The demand for undue army expansion has come from two sources. First, from some of our own military men who had not been responsible for the country's policy as a whole, and have naturally seen only the army phase. Second, from certain speakers and writers so intense in their feeling against Germany that they have not paused to study the best means of accomplishing the ends they have desired. The pressure of these people upon the President and upon the other branches of government at Washington has helped to give the armies on the Western Front a prominence that has somewhat obscured the rest of the necessary war business of the country. This, however, was a situation that was bound to remedy itself. What we have said on this subject in previous numbers of the REVIEW was carefully considered, and will be justified by facts that are every day becoming more evident. We are sending men abroad quite as fast as conditions of shipping and supplies justify. The Government is bending all its energies to the industrial side of the war, realizing that machine guns, artillery of different calibers, shells in immense quantities, aircraft for different purposes, and the trained ability to use all

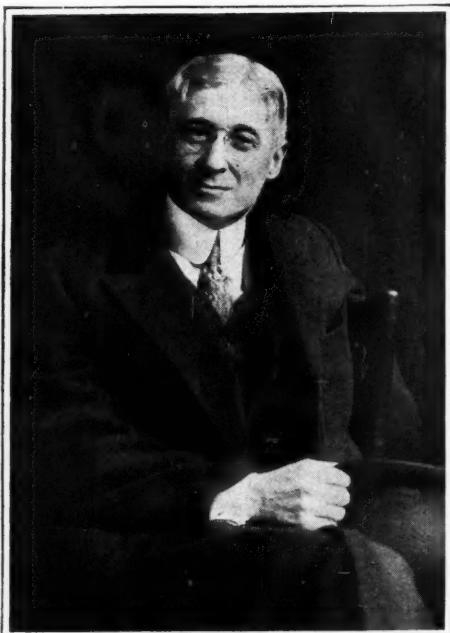
the new devices are important far beyond the mere numbers of men transported. This is a war of mechanical resources and devices.

*Aircraft
Still
Delayed*

Our most serious delay in the matter of equipment seems to have been in the field of aeronautics; but the delay is largely due to the boldness and immensity of our program. It is as if we had started to build the earliest type of the small one-cylinder steam automobiles, and had, in the very process of construction, changed our plans in order to turn out the latest type of high-power twelve-cylinder motor cars. The progress in automobile building that has been distributed over fifteen years or more is hardly greater than the transformation in the types and uses of aircraft covering a period of, let us say, twenty months. From the beginning, this business has been in the hands of brilliant and indefatigable men. Mr. Howard Coffin's services to the United States during the past two years are beyond estimate. General Squier of the Signal Corps and many of the other men connected with the aircraft program are no less deserving of praise. We have been training a marvelous body of young aviators, and are bound to overcome the difficulties in the way of manufacturing a supply of machines. Mr. Goodrich, a well known New York engineer, in writing a letter to the editor of this REVIEW (see page 391) shows faith enough in our aeronautic inventors and manufacturers to express the belief that the planes may cross the ocean on the wing and thus save shipping.

*The Business
Side of
War-Making*

Pending a seeming delay of Congress in dealing with current bills for re-organizing the executive management of war industry, the opposing viewpoints have been coming much nearer to reconciliation. Senator Chamberlain and the Military Committee proposed a War Cabinet and a Director of Munitions. President Wilson and his Senatorial supporters then came forward with the Overman bill, which proposes to give the President complete authority to rearrange all the executive departments and bureaus in the interest of efficiency. Without waiting for new legislation, the War Department itself has been thoroughly re-organized. Secretary Baker went last month to inspect conditions in France, leaving Assistant Secretary Crowell in charge at Washington. General Goethals as Quartermaster-General and Mr.



HON. BERNARD BARUCH, OF NEW YORK, WHO HAS BECOME CHAIRMAN OF THE WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD, WITH INCREASED AUTHORITY

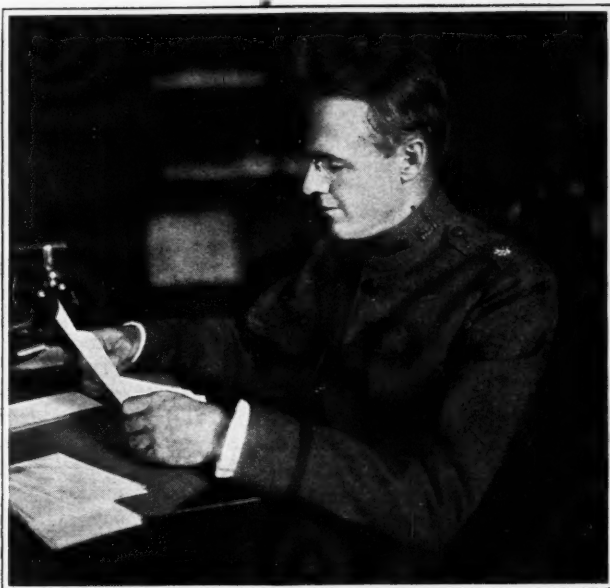
Stettinius as Supervisor of Purchases are showing high efficiency, and it is understood that they are to be associated with Mr. Crowell as Assistant Secretaries of War. Mr. Baruch, of the Council of National Defense, is now at the head of the War Industries Board.

*The New
Conference
Methods*

Mr. Crowell, with his group of important men in the War Department has adopted the plan of calling in the Military Committees of Congress for a frank weekly conference. It would be hard to over-estimate the value of this step. President Wilson has also begun to bring together in conferences a group of men at the head of important war-time boards who are not in the regular Cabinet. These are, besides Mr. McAdoo in his capacity as head of the railroads, such men as Mr. Hurley of the Shipping Board, Mr. Baruch of the War Industries Board, Mr. Hoover of the Food Administration, Mr. Garfield of the Fuel Administration, and Mr. McCormick of the Export Board. As President Wilson's plans thus take on a definite form, it becomes apparent that if the Overman bill should be adopted, the result would be that the President would work out in his own way what would serve all the ends of a War Cabinet and a Directorship of Munitions. Both sides of the controversy were really feeling their way towards some scheme of improved management of the business side of the war; and it is gratifying to know that great progress is being made. The Council of National Defense, as at first formed, is now to some extent superseded; but it accomplished a great work in helping to organize the war-supply industries of the country, and we are to go forward upon the foundations which it laid.

*Status
of the
Medical Corps*

One of the problems that was under discussion last month was the status of the army medical corps. General Gorgas, as Surgeon-General of the Army, has demanded a higher military ranking for the many capable surgeons



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HON. BENEDICT CROWELL, ACTING SECRETARY OF WAR

(In the absence of Mr. Baker, who arrived in France on March 10, Assistant Secretary Crowell is acting head of the War Department. His training as an engineer and industrial expert has been of immense value to Mr. Baker in working out the business side of our military expansion)

who have gone into the service, in order that there may be the necessary authority to secure the best results in sanitation and hospital management. It has been a winter of hard weather conditions, and we made the mistake of rushing too many men into the camps before having supplies of warm clothing, and before sanitary and hospital provisions were duly made. The prevalence of pneumonia, scarlet fever, measles, and to some extent meningitis, has given General Gorgas and the Medical Corps great anxiety. In France, near the fighting front, General Pershing's Staff and the line officers of the Army must obviously have as much authority as military exigencies seem to require. But in the administration of our training camps here at home, with vast numbers of recruits pouring in, the sanitary and medical considerations could well have been put first. The Army has lost more than it has gained in efficiency of training through relative failure on the medical side, which General Gorgas now declares has been caused by the lack of proper rank and authority. Something in the nature of a Medical Board of Health, with the commanding officer of the camp or cantonment as its *ex officio* president, should have been in position to exercise immediate authority.

*Russia
and the
War*

Mr. Simonds in this number of the REVIEW discusses the war situation in Europe in various aspects, and we concur fully in the opinions he expresses. His analysis of Germany's invasion of Russia in its political and economic, as well as its military phases, will be found most instructive. Germany's restoration to Turkey of districts of Russian Trans-Caucasia meets with intense disapproval in the United States, because of the danger of further Armenian massacres. Germany expects to compel millions of Russians to raise food for her benefit at the point of the bayonet. This fact has an immediate bearing upon the need of our raising food in America for the Allies. While Germany's high-handed treatment of prostrate Russia helps the military party for the moment, there will be sharp reaction in the Central Empires when the people discover that these conquests, stretching from the Baltic to the Caspian, are not bringing them the one thing for which they long, namely, peace. The determination of the Allies is even stronger than last year.

*Japan
and
Siberia*

We are publishing an extremely valuable article by our occasional correspondent, Mr. K. K. Kawakami, who has recently returned from several months spent in Japan, China, and Manchuria, and understands exceptionally well the Siberian situation, about which so much was said last month. It is probable that Japan will, with some Chinese co-operation and with the entire confidence of the Allies, undertake a certain amount of military control in Siberia, in order to prevent the Germans from doing irreparable harm. There is little danger of any misunderstanding between the Japanese and American Governments. We have many evidences of gratitude on the part of the natives of Mesopotamia and Palestine by reason of the improved conditions that promptly followed the progress of the British armies. Dr. Peters, whose article on Jerusalem in our January number was so widely appreciated, gives our readers this month a valuable summary of the history of Bagdad.

*The Railroad
Bill Becomes
Law*

On March 14, Congress disposed of the bill providing for the Government's war-time control of the railroads, after the Conference Committee had reconciled the comparatively slight differences between the Senate and

House Drafts. The President signed the bill several days later. In its final form (which is not greatly different from the measure originally proposed by the Administration) the bill takes over the control of the railroads from their owners and managers for a period extending not longer than twenty-one months after the end of the war, with the President empowered to return the lines to their owners at any earlier time he sees fit, and with the further proviso that they shall be returned in substantially the same physical condition as existed in December, 1917. For the use of the roads, the President is empowered to guarantee them yearly net incomes not greater than the average annual net incomes actually earned in the three years ending June 30, 1917. Where special circumstances render this standard unfair, special bargains can be made. If any road is dissatisfied with the return awarded, it can demand arbitration of the case and appeal to the courts. The railroad corporations may continue to pay the regular dividends declared in the three-year period; increased dividends or new dividends can be declared only after the President has given his approval. Freight and passenger rates are to be set by the President; but on the objection of shippers or others to any rates so initiated, the Interstate Commerce Commission has the power to review, the new rates holding in the meantime.

*The Nation in
a New
Business*

It is estimated that under this measure the Government will pay to the roads about \$945,000,000 annually as rent money, which will be used by the railroad corporations to cover special war taxes, interest on bonds, and—when the three-year-average figure is sufficient—dividends on stock. If the actual net income for any year is greater than the guarantee, the excess goes to the Government; if less, the nation makes up the deficit. Thus the nation has leased 250,000 miles of railroad lines and has gone into the transportation business, and it follows that working capital is needed. This is provided for in the new law by the so-called revolving fund of \$500,000,000 to put the Director-General at his ease financially, in ordering new equipment, extensions, and improvements. This working capital will be increased by the roads which are so prosperous under Government control as to show net income greater than the three-year average; and it will be decreased by those lines which,

under the national control, earn less money than the average of standard years. The payment to the railroad owners is estimated to be something over 5 per cent. on the entire property investment in the country's lines. This does not mean, of course, that the owners of every road will, under the new régime, have such a return. In some cases it will be 15 per cent. or more. In a much larger number of cases it will be less than 3 per cent.

*First Months of
Government
Control*

It will be remembered that although the measure covering these details of Government railroad control did not become law until after the middle of March, the roads were actually taken over by the President on December 28, 1917, and have been operated since then by Director-General McAdoo. These first months of national control have been, from the operating point of view, nothing less than a horror. At precisely the juncture when a wholly unprecedented volume of "rush" freight was thrown on the railroads by the vast business of war, came a winter of unexampled severity with low temperatures and great storms that would have handicapped transportation even if there had been only normal traffic to handle. Under the double stress the railroads simply broke down. Carloads of "fast" freight starting from New York to Chicago had not been heard of a month later. Fleets of motor trucks were rushed to the rescue, and freight matter was sent by this costly means many hundreds of miles. Thousands of factories have had to close down or run on short time because there was no way of transporting their raw material and other supplies. The situation has been, and still is, truly chaotic; but Americans have confidence in the executive ability, force, and daring of Mr. McAdoo, and they will be greatly surprised if he does not gradually bring order and efficiency.

*A Glance Back
at the
Railroads*

It is very worth while to remember that the bad accidents of inclement weather and war demands are not wholly, or even fundamentally, the causes for this frightful loss and waste and slowing up of industry, coming just at the time when America could least afford them. We have had some great railroad builders and operators in the past generation. Those—like James J. Hill—who came nearest genius, clearly foresaw and

publicly foretold, more than ten years ago, the trouble that has now come. Mr. Hill and others gave due notice to the public in 1907 that the railroads would break down unless very large sums of money were spent in enlarging their facilities—terminals, equipment, trackage. Mr. Hill put the sum that should be expended during the succeeding five years at \$5,500,000,000. It is the proper business of great railroad men to figure out the future demands of the country for service, and to establish scientific ratios of increases in facilities, based on the known rate of increase in agricultural, mining, and manufacturing production. These men made their calculations and published the results.

*The Railroads
Have Been
Starved*

But instead of applying \$1,100,000,000 per year to the up-keep and improvement of the roads, much less than half that sum was invested in the five years following Mr. Hill's warning. New railroad construction fell to the smallest ratio of increase since the Civil War. The starving of the country's transportation system persisted after the five-year period following the Hill predictions, and even increased in intensity. In the past four years, notwithstanding an abnormal growth of traffic which would have tended at times to strain even scientifically calculated improvements, only 8500 locomotives have been ordered as against 14,600 in the preceding four years; only 440,000 freight cars as against 656,000. Meantime, the lines have been subjected during the last three years to exceptionally hard wear and tear, and must now, if they are to catch up in maintenance condition, pay from 30 per cent. to 200 per cent. more than normal prices for labor and material.

*The
Warnings
Unheeded*

Mr. Hill's predictions failed of their effect partly because of the opposition on general principles to railroads, which exists in many parts of the country and which led unreasoning people to conclude that the publication of these large programs of expenditures was primarily designed to get higher rates and enrich railroad owners. A great increase in railroad efficiency and service to the public came in the ten years following 1896, when the Morgan reorganizations and the big building programs of Mr. Harriman and Mr. Hill were carried through. Then began the period of effective restraint on rates exercised by the Interstate Commerce Com-

mission, and a bewildering succession of restrictive measures by individual States. In 1910 the railroads applied for a 10 per cent. increase of rates on the ground that larger earnings were necessary to furnish money and attract capital for the improvements now shown to be necessary. The commission took nearly four years to investigate, and then refused the increase. In the meantime the Sherman Anti-Trust Law had been invoked to force the railroads to compete. They were withheld from the advantages of partially united action by pooling arrangements, joint-traffic associations, and mergers.

*Increased
Rates at
Once*

In the early summer of 1917 the last urgent appeal was made to the Interstate Commerce Commission for a freight increase, this time of 15 per cent. Last month, after the roads were taken over by the Government, this increase was granted. Now Mr. McAdoo will have the benefit of the two fundamental advantages the roads had previously been denied: (1) effective pooling of operations, and (2) higher rates. For honest railroad managers and owners the situation is not without irony. If the Government had itself been a wicked trust, unhampered by human laws and desirous of driving a neighboring business to the wall so that it might be gobbled up, it would not have proceeded very differently.

*Why Have the
Roads Been
Starved?*

The Government was not, of course, wicked, nor was there any deliberate conspiracy to crush the railroad business, although there are still men active in political life, some of them very able, who may be fairly called fanatical in their enmity to railroad management and ownership. The whole episode has been one of the almost formless and aimless misfortunes of democracy, with the blame falling inevitably on the greed or too-great darning of a comparatively small number of railroad promoters, who have figured as horrible examples of railroad management. Meanwhile, the Interstate Commerce Commission was, at each juncture of rate-increase applications, confronted with a peculiar and baffling technical detail; a given increase in rates would seem necessary and just for a considerable group of roads; but so unequal is the prosperity and efficiency in management of different roads that this same increased freight rate applied to another smaller but much more profitable group of

roads would have increased its earnings beyond what was deemed reasonable or safe. The Commission has simply been afraid to do it, and the larger group has gone to the bow-wows because the general rate increase that would have saved it would have made the smaller group look too opulent.

*Capital
Becomes
Shy*

A visitor from Mars might have cast a glance over the whole situation and discerned that the building of railroads has actually been a very speculative enterprise; that even established ones like the St. Paul and the Denver & Rio Grande have practically succumbed to the burden of waiting for their Pacific Coast extensions to become profitable; that it is the rule rather than the exception that new railroads have gone through receiverships before becoming money-earners. What is more to the point, it becomes apparent that with so many risks inherent in the undertaking, with the practical certainty that much money would be lost, capital would simply not go into railroad building and operation unless there were possible fairly large rewards as well as large losses. As a matter of cold fact, there was in 1916, after six years of great growth in production and transportation demands, a smaller investment in railroad building and improvement than in 1910 by the enormous difference of \$530,000,000.

*The
Third Liberty
Loan*

On March 1 Secretary McAdoo announced that the campaign for the Third Liberty Loan would be begun on April 6, if the necessary legislation should be obtained in time. He suggested that this anniversary of our declaration of war on Germany should be celebrated by parades and patriotic meetings to be used for obtaining subscriptions. The campaign is expected to last for three or four weeks, and an opening date was determined on well in advance in order that bankers' committees, "four minute men," and all manner of helpers and promoters might organize and be ready for a prompt and gigantic "drive." While the details of the new loan had not, to March 20, been decided, the impression had grown that the bonds would bear $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest, would not be tax-exempt as to super-taxes, and would run for more than five years, thus allowing conversion of the second issue. The nation has already absorbed \$5,808,000,000 of Liberty Bonds.



GERMAN, AUSTRIAN AND TURKISH DELEGATES AT THE BREST-LITOVSK PEACE CONFERENCE

(From left to right: General von Hoffman; Count Czernin, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister; Talaat Pasha of Turkey; and Dr. von Kuhlmann, German Foreign Minister)

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From February 16 to March 20, 1918)

The Last Part of February

February 16.—Sir William Robertson, Chief of the British Imperial Staff, resigns; it had been proposed to transfer certain powers to Britain's permanent representative on the Supreme War Council at Versailles.

A German submarine bombards Dover, England, at night.

Ukrainian forces are defeated by the Bolsheviks in a battle for Kiev.

February 18.—Germany resumes hostilities against Russia, moving in the general direction of Petrograd and also toward Kovel to help Ukrainia maintain its independence of Russia.

February 19.—Premier Lenine and Foreign Minister Trotzky—after denouncing the movement of German troops against the Russian Republic, "which has declared the war at an end"—declare their willingness to sign the peace treaty dictated by the Teutonic powers at Brest-Litovsk.

Premier Lloyd George addresses the House of Commons in reply to criticisms regarding army changes and decisions reached by the Supreme War Council at Versailles; he refers to the adoption of an Allied policy, with central authority to exercise supreme direction, and declares that the American delegation "presented the case with irresistible power and logic."

February 20.—The Austrian Premier, Dr. von Seydler, defends in the Reichsrat the treaty with Ukrainia, but appoints a commission to determine the soundness of Poland's claim to Cholm.

February 21.—A German official statement reports progress in the new Russian invasion at vital points on the entire front, and boasts of the "booty" obtained.

The Bolshevik government at Petrograd issues an appeal to workmen and peasants to resist the German invasion, outlining a guerrilla form of warfare.

British troops occupy Jericho, fourteen miles northeast of Jerusalem.

The United States reaches an agreement with Spain for the supply of mules, blankets, and food to American forces in France.

February 22.—Norway's commissioners reach an agreement with the United States War Trade Board, under which Norway guarantees that imports from the United States will not reach Germany and also limits its own exports to Germany.

Dispatches from France reveal the presence of American troops (under instruction) in the Chemin-des-Dames sector, the Aisne.

February 24.—The Bolshevik government in Russia decides to accept Germany's new peace terms, which involve the surrender of one-fourth the area of European Russia.

Lawlessness in the west and south of Ireland, verging on open rebellion, results in the dispatch of additional troops.

February 25.—Chancellor von Hertling declares in the German Reichstag that he can "fundamentally agree" with the principles laid down by President Wilson in his address to Congress on February 11, and that peace can be discussed on such a basis—but he declares that England's war aims are still thoroughly imperialistic.

A rationing system for meat and butter goes into effect in London and adjoining districts.

February 26.—The Rumanian Government decides not to continue the war in its present isolated position, and to enter into peace negotiations with the Central Powers.

February 27.—It is learned that Japan has approached the Allies with a proposal to institute joint military operations in Siberia, to save from the Germans vast quantities of military supplies at Vladivostok and along the Siberian Railway.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Balfour, declares in the House of Commons that he is unable to find in Chancellor von Hertling's speech any basis for hope for peace.

The First Week of March

March 1.—The French Foreign Minister, Stephen Pichon, makes public the recently authenticated text of a telegram sent by the German Imperial Chancellor on July 31, 1914, to the German Ambassador at Paris—instructing him to demand the handing-over of the fortresses of Toul and Verdun, as a guarantee, if France should decide to remain neutral.

Premier Sir Robert Borden, interviewed in New York, states that Canada has sent 400,000 soldiers to Europe, of whom 40,000 have been killed; the total casualties amount to 150,000, or 36 per cent. of the whole.

March 2.—The Bolshevik delegation at Brest-Litovsk resolves that deliberations with Germany "could only make things worse," and decides to

sign the German peace treaty without discussing it.

Kiev, capital of the new republic of Ukraina, is occupied by Ukrainian and German troops, having been in control of Bolsheviks since February 8.

March 3.—A treaty of peace is signed at Brest-Litovsk between Russia and the four Central Powers; besides vast territory already occupied by the Germans, Russia is compelled to "evacuate" Ukraina, the Baltic provinces of Esthonia and Livonia, Finland, the Aland Islands, and the Transcaucasian districts of Erivan, Kars, and Batum.

Sweden protests against Germany's proposal to occupy Finland "to restore order."

March 5.—A preliminary peace treaty is signed between Rumania and the Central Powers; Rumania gives up the province of Dobrudja to the Danube and accepts "frontier rectifications" demanded by Austria-Hungary, besides agreeing to economic measures and trade route to Black Sea.

March 6.—It is reported at Washington that American troops are holding a section of four and a half miles on the battle front in France.

March 7.—The Chancellor of the British Exchequer moves a vote of credit of \$3,000,000,000 in the House of Commons, bringing the total to \$34,210,000,000; he states that the national debt at the end of March will be \$29,500,000,000, and that loans to Allies total \$6,320,000,000, only a small part of which are "recoverable."

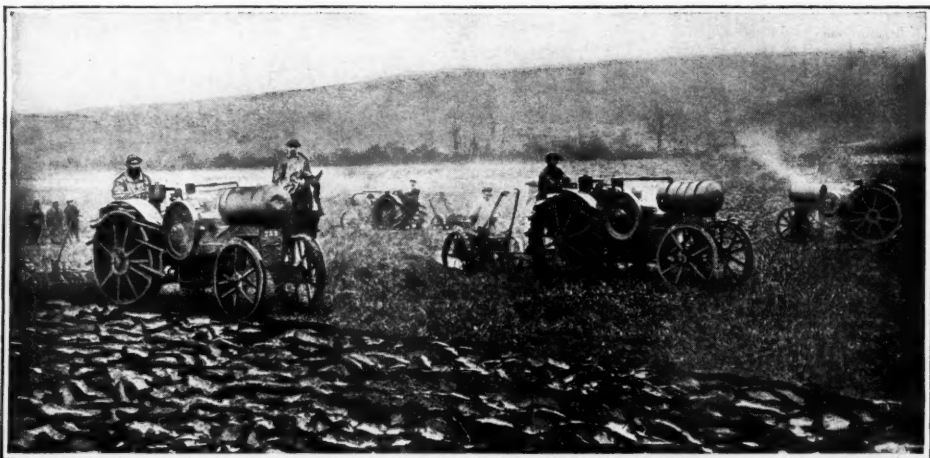
A treaty of peace is signed between Germany and Finland.

The Second Week of March

March 8.—Leon Trotsky announces his resignation as Russian Foreign Minister.

March 9.—The Government of Russia is transferred from Petrograd to Moscow.

March 10.—The American Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, arrives in France (having sailed secretly on February 27), on a personal tour of inspection.



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INTENSIVE FARMING IN FRANCE—UNDER MILITARY DIRECTION

(This battery of motor plows is typical of the effort France is putting forth to meet the food crisis this year. The "agricultural officer" in charge may be seen on horseback. From a British official photograph)

The United States War Department announces that American troops are in the trenches at four separate points—on the Lorraine front, northwest of Toul; with the French in the Champagne; in the Alsace, near Luneville; and in the Chemin-des-Dames region of the Aisne sector.

March 11.—American soldiers (at Toul) go "over the top" for the first time, penetrating to the second German trench line and returning without loss.

President Wilson sends a message to the Congress of the Soviets, meeting at Moscow to ratify or reject the peace treaty with Germany; he expresses sympathy with the Russian people, and declares that the United States will avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia complete sovereignty and independence.

A German airplane attack on Paris results in the killing of 34 persons and the suffocation, through panic and crowding, of 66 others.

March 12.—John Dillon is unanimously elected chairman of the Irish Nationalist party in the British House of Commons, succeeding the late John Redmond.

March 13.—An unofficial computation of American army losses in France and in transit places the total at 348 killed, as compared with only 280 men killed in action during the war with Spain.

German troops occupy Odessa, the great Russian seaport on the Black Sea lying within the natural claims of the new republic of Ukraina.

March 14.—It is learned that the United States and Great Britain have notified Holland of their intention to seize Dutch shipping in Allied ports (600,000 tons), unless Holland by March 18 puts

into effect the shipping agreement reached with the Allies and postponed through fear of Germany.

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets, meeting at Moscow, decides by vote of 453 to 30 to ratify the peace treaty with the Teutonic powers.

Turkish troops reoccupy Erzerum, the principal city of Armenia.

The Third Week of March

March 18.—The Premiers and Foreign Ministers of the Entente, assembled at London, denounce Germany's "political crime against the Russian people" and refuse to acknowledge the peace treaty.

The Dutch Foreign Minister informs Parliament of conditions proposed to the United States and Great Britain; he particularly wants a guarantee that no troops or war materials will be transported on the seized Dutch ships.

Chancellor von Hertling, discussing the peace treaty in the German Reichstag, declares that it contains no conditions disgraceful to Russia if the provinces breaking away say it is their own wish and if the wish is accepted by Russia.

March 20.—President Wilson issues a proclamation directing the seizure (with full compensation) and utilization of vessels of Netherlands registry in American ports.

Submarine destruction of merchant ships during the past year is placed by the British Admiralty at 6,000,000 tons (the Germans claiming 9,500,000).

In London and the southern counties of England further restrictions on lighting are proclaimed, to save transportation of coal, involving the closure of restaurants at 9:30 and amusement places at 10:30 p. m.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From February 16 to March 20, 1918)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

February 18.—The House passes the Urgent Deficiency bill.

February 19.—The Senate Committee on Agriculture reports a bill increasing the fixed minimum price for wheat, from \$2.00 to \$2.50 per bushel.

February 22.—The Senate passes the Administration's Railroad bill, providing for federal control until eighteen months after the war, and appropriating \$500,000,000 for an operating fund; the principal amendment is one bringing independent short lines within the provisions of the act.

February 27.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) criticizes the Food Administration for having created a famine in sugar, and the Fuel Administration for its handling of coal distribution.

February 28.—The House adopts the Administration's Railroad bill, with only six votes in opposition.

March 7.—The Senate passes the War Finance Corporation bill, by vote of 74 to 3; the only important amendment provides for the nomination of four directors by the President, rather than by the Federal Reserve Board and the Treasury.

March 8.—The House passes a measure providing for two additional Assistant Secretaries of

War; a bill is also adopted (previously passed by the Senate) which permits a drafted soldier to apply for a furlough to engage in farming.

March 11.—The Senate votes unanimously to authorize the Government to sell German property in the United States.

March 12.—The Senate passes the Urgent Deficiency bill, carrying appropriations and authorizations of nearly \$1,200,000,000; Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) criticizes the Food Administration as extravagant.

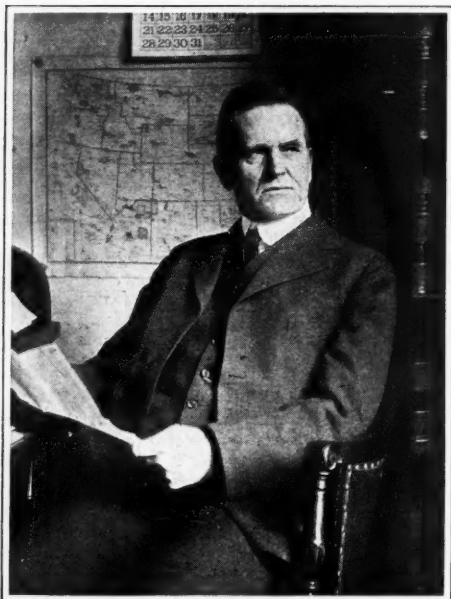
March 13.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the Administration's Railroad control bill; the amended measure provides for Government operation for twenty-one months after the war; the bill creating two new Assistant Secretaries of War is also passed.

March 14.—The House adopts the conference report on the Railroad bill.

March 15.—The House adopts the Daylight-Saving bill already passed by the Senate providing for setting all clocks ahead one hour during the seven months from April 1 to October 31.

March 16.—The Senate passes the Daylight-Saving bill as amended by the House.

The House begins debate on the War Finance Corporation bill.



HON. IRVINE L. LENROOT, OF WISCONSIN

(Mr. Lenroot was the leading Republican candidate in an exciting primary election held on March 19 in Wisconsin, to name a candidate for the seat in the U. S. Senate made vacant by the death of Mr. Husting. The election occurs on April 2. Hon. Joseph E. Davies, of the Federal Trade Commission, carried the Democratic primaries. Either Davies or Lenroot would fill the Senate seat with ability and fitness.)

March 19.—In the House, the Naval appropriation bill is reported, carrying \$1,300,000,000 (see page 375).

March 20.—The Senate Committee on Judiciary favorably reports the Overman bill, empowering the President to reorganize executive agencies.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 16.—A coal trade journal estimates that 3,456,000 tons of coal were saved by the Fuel Administrator's "fuelless" days; the loss to industry is placed at \$1,000,000,000, or \$289.00 for every ton of coal saved.

February 17.—President Wilson informs the head of striking shipyard carpenters that unless he advises the men to return to work, pending wage adjustment by arbitration, he will be giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

The Secretary of Labor announces the names of representatives of capital and labor who will seek to establish a basis for the adjustment of disputes during the period of the war.

The Treasury Department announces that applications for Government Insurance have been received from 1,082,000 men in military service, the average amount being \$8,205.

February 23.—The President fixes a price of \$2.20 a bushel for the coming season's wheat yield—an increase over the price fixed at the last session of Congress, but a lower figure than proposed in the present session.

David Baird (Rep.) is appointed by the Gov-

ernor of New Jersey to serve as United States Senator until a successor to the late Senator Hughes is elected in November.

March 3.—The Food Administrator reduces the number of "meatless" days and meals; on Tuesday only is the consumption of beef and pork forbidden.

March 4.—The War Department asks Congress for an appropriation of \$450,000,000 for aircraft production, to supplement previous appropriations.

March 5.—The President appoints Bernard M. Baruch chairman of the War Industries Board, and defines the functions of the board and its chairman.

Congressional elections are held to fill four vacancies in New York City; Democrats are chosen in each district, the seats being previously held by Democrats.

March 6.—The Wisconsin Assembly concurs in the Senate resolution condemning United States Senator Robert M. La Follette for failure to see the righteousness of the nation's cause and to support the Government.

March 8.—A National Party is formed at Chicago, by delegates formerly affiliated with the Socialist and the Prohibition parties.

The President signs the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Rights bill, which virtually establishes a moratorium.

March 12.—The War Department announces that the second draft of 800,000 men for the National Army will begin on March 29, if pending legislation is adopted by Congress.

The New York Assembly ratifies the prohibition amendment to the federal Constitution, but provides that the question shall first be submitted to the voters.

March 14.—The Texas Senate adopts a State-wide prohibition bill, following similar action in the House.

March 15.—The Interstate Commerce Commission allows increases of approximately 15 per cent. on commodity rates on Eastern railroads, supplementing the increase in class rates granted in June, 1917.

March 18.—The Delaware legislature takes final action in ratification of the proposed prohibition amendment to the federal Constitution, making the ninth State to approve the amendment.

March 19.—In the Wisconsin Senatorial primary (to fill a vacancy), Mr. Joseph E. Davies wins the Democratic nomination; the Republican contest results in a close vote between Congressman Irvine L. Lenroot and James Thompson, Mr. Lenroot apparently winning the nomination.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

February 18.—It is announced that Viscount Ishii, recently head of a special Japanese mission to the United States, has been appointed Ambassador.

February 24.—The steamer *Florizel*, from Newfoundland to New York, is wrecked on a reef north of Cape Race, 92 persons being drowned.

March 14.—A 7,900-ton concrete ship is launched on the Pacific coast, its construction apparently so successful that many others may be begun.

OBITUARY

February 17.—Count Khuen von Hedervary, former Premier of Hungary, 65.

February 18.—Brig.-Gen. Frederick W. Sibley, U. S. A., retired, 65.

February 21.—Dr. Charles S. Trumbull, a noted Philadelphia specialist in diseases of the eye and ear, 70.

February 22.—Brig.-Gen. Michael V. Sheridan, U. S. A., retired, 77.

February 23.—Earl Brassey, a British authority on naval matters, 82.

February 24.—Sir Henry Arthur Blake, former governor of Newfoundland, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Hong Kong, and Ceylon, 78.

February 26.—Most Rev. Edmond Francis Prendergast, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Philadelphia, 75. . . . Dr. Samuel G. Dixon, Pennsylvania Commissioner of Health and noted as a bacteriologist, 66.

February 27.—Robert Carter, cartoonist of the *Philadelphia Press*, 44.

March 2.—Hubert Howe Bancroft, the famous historian of the Pacific coast of North and South America, 86. . . . Brig.-Gen. Jacob Hurd Smith, U. S. A., retired, 78.

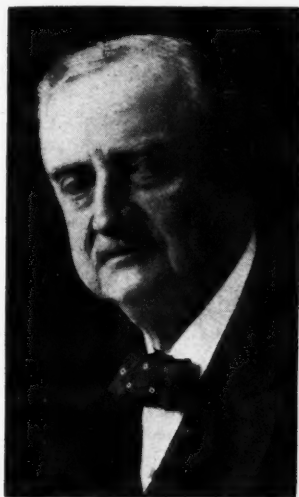
March 6.—John Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalist party in the British Parliament since 1891, 67. . . . Cardinal Domenico Serafini, of Rome, 65.

March 7.—John M. Bowers, a distinguished New York lawyer, 68.



SERGEANT KENT S. RITCHIE

(Sergeant Ritchie was one of five members of the REVIEW of REVIEWS staff who promptly entered the military service. His death in France was noted in our obituary column last month)



HON. JOHN REDMOND, THE FAMOUS IRISH LEADER

(Mr. Redmond, who died on March 6, succeeded Mr. Parnell as head of the Irish Nationalist party in Parliament. He was greatly respected, and had done everything in his power to hold Ireland to a firm and loyal support of the Allied cause. He is succeeded by John Dillon, at a moment when intense anxiety exists over the unsettled problem of Irish Home Rule)

March 8.—Jules Charles Roux, president of the *Compagnie Générale Transatlantique*, 77.

March 9.—George von Lengerke Meyer, of Boston, former Ambassador to Italy and to Russia, Postmaster-General in the cabinet of President Roosevelt, and Secretary of the Navy under President Taft, 59. . . . Rear-Adm. John Addison Baxter Smith, U. S. N., retired, 72.

March 10.—Admiral von Diederichs, the German naval officer who clashed with Dewey at Manila. . . . Dr. James M. Munyon, widely known as a manufacturer of patent medicines, 69.

March 12.—Winfield Scott Chaplin, formerly Chancellor of Washington University, 70. . . . N. Walling Clark, D.D., long prominent in Methodist Episcopal work in Rome, 59.

March 13.—Henry Janeway Hardenbergh, noted designer of hotel buildings, 71. . . . Lucretia Rudolph Garfield, widow of President James A. Garfield, 85.

March 14.—Frederick Ayer, formerly prominent in Massachusetts industry and finance, 95.

March 15.—James Stillman, the noted New York financier, 67. . . . Isaac Stephenson, recently United States Senator from Wisconsin, 85.

March 16.—John H. Capstick, Representative in Congress from New Jersey.

March 17.—Henry Parks Wright, formerly Dean of Yale College, 78. . . . John M. Devine, a widely known writer during the Populist movement.

March 19.—Richard Barry O'Brien, a prolific writer on Irish political matters, 68.



LET NOT YOUR RIGHT HAND KNOW WHAT YOUR LEFT HAND HOLDS!
From *Le Pêlé-Mêle* (Paris)

WAR AND PEACE "OFFENSIVES" IN CARTOONS



THE KAISER'S FINE LINE OF KINGLETS FOR
CONQUERED PEOPLE
From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)



CAN THE SELF-ANointed WORLD RULER ANSWER
THIS?
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)



BUT WILL THE BEAR DIGEST THAT KIND OF FOOD?
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)

THE Kaiser's strenuous exertions as the great peacemaker of Europe offer numerous targets for the cartoonists' shafts. The partition of Russia forms the central theme of this page. In addition to the satirical thrusts of American cartoonists at the



THE OPERATION WAS SUCCESSFUL, BUT—
From the *Republic* (St. Louis)



AND YET THERE ARE THOSE WHO STILL BELIEVE IN
A NEGOTIATED PEACE!
From the *Tribune* (New York)



THE MAIN OBJECTIVE.
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)



EXISTENCE IN RUSSIA
SEPARATISTS (Finland, Ukraine, etc.): "Poor Russia!
Will she die?"
PHYSICIAN: "If she does, you will die with her."
From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd, Russia)



THE SPIRIT OF SAMURAI AWAKES
From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Ind.)



THE UNINVITED GUEST
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)

results of Kaiserism and Bolshevism in the Russian collapse, we have a belated protest from one of the Petrograd newspapers against the dismemberment of the empire.

Germany's designs on Siberia and Japan's spirit of resistance to them are illustrated on this page. The Kaiser is represented as changing his destination from Paris to Vla-

divostok and only Japan's "butting-in" threatens the success of his journey.

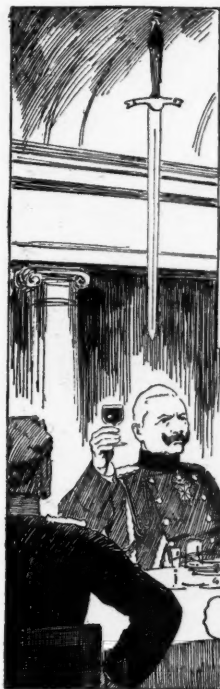
Austrian unrest is suggested on the opposite page and the same theme is amplified in the cartoon at the top of page 365.



CHANGING HIS TRANSPORTATION
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)



ANOTHER GERMAN SUBSTITUTE
From the *News* (Dayton)



THE SWORD OF
DAMOCLES
THE KAISER'S
TOAST: "Gentlemen!
Our unconquerable
might! Hoch! Hoch!"
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE AUSTRIAN FERMENT
KAISER BILL: "Shove like mad, Karl! Remember Nicky! We mustn't let our skeleton get out of the cupboard, as Russia did."
From *Opinion* (London)

To keep the Austrian skeleton confined in his closet is now the fervent desire of both Hapsburg and Hohenzollern. Everyone knows that so far as the peoples of the Dual Monarchy are concerned, self-determination is an empty phrase.



© Press Publishing Co. VERBOTEN!
From the *Evening World* (New York)



AND THE DEVIL TAKE THE HINDMOST!
THE HUN: "Ja Wohl! If he must feed on someone, it's better that he should eat you all than me."
From the *Passing Show* (London)



SPADES ARE TRUMPS AND LABOR PLAYS THE WINNING CARD
From the *Bystander* (London)



THE PRUSSIAN SLAVE
MASTER: "Pick up your tools!"
PRUSSIAN SLAVE (sotto voce): "Needs must when the Devil drives."
From the *National News* (London)



PRESIDENT WILSON (TO THE STRIKING SHIP CARPENTERS): "WILL YOU COÖPERATE OR OBSTRUCT?"

(A message that was heeded)
From the *Mail* (New York)



"NECESSITY KNOWS NO LAW"

THE KAISER: "Say, Karl, where have I heard that before?"
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

On these two pages the cartoonists reflect various aspects of current labor problems here and in Europe.



GUESS I CAN LICK THE KAISER THIS WAY, TOO

(News item—Legislation is in the making to allow enlisted men from farms to go home on furloughs for the planting season)

From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Ind.)



THE HOME FRONT AND THE PEACE OFFENSIVE

CIVILIAN (on a visit to the trenches): "Well, are we going to win this war?"

TOMMY: "Just now, mate, that depends on you more than it does on me."

From *Punch* (London)

RUSSIA'S MUTILATION— GERMANY UNMASKED

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. UNDOING THE WORK OF PETER THE GREAT

THE past month has seen the completion of the mutilation of Russia and the return of the Russian Government to Moscow, the old and the new capital of the country. One brief year of Bolshevism has sufficed to undo all the work of Peter the Great and his successors. To-day what is left of Russia compares unfavorably with the Muscovite Kingdom, which Peter found, when he came to the throne more than two centuries ago.

Under Peter, Russia gained two great things. He left her securely seated upon the Baltic and upon the Sea of Azov, an arm of the Black Sea. By the Treaty of Nystad, in 1721, he acquired Esthonia, Livonia, Lithuania, and the Courland, with Riga, Reval, and Libau. By his settlement with the Turk, he carried Russian power to the Black Sea and gained the eastern half of Ukraina. His successors in the next century rounded off his work and at the Congress of Vienna, Russian power was confirmed along the Vistula, in most of Poland, in Finland, in all of Ukraina, and in Bessarabia.

Now exactly the steps by which Russia became a Western nation have been reversed in the recent German-designed peace. Russia loses Finland, Esthonia, Livonia, the Courland and Lithuania, and with this loss she is excluded from the Baltic, she is deprived of that window upon the western world created by Peter, who constructed Petrograd in the marshes of the Neva, that Russia might become occidental. Commercially and culturally Russia is thrown back upon the condition of an inland state, the condition of the Seventeenth Century.

The recognition of an independent Ukraina has divided the Russian Slavs into two considerable fractions, and this was done in the hope that these fractions might never rejoin, but become separated by ever-increas-

ing jealousies fomented by the Germans. And this division separates the main mass of Russians, the Great Russians of the North, from the Black Sea, as the Baltic delimitations separate them from that other sea.

Finally Poland has been taken from Russia, and waits upon German and Austrian pleasure for still further mutilation and agony. And in losing Poland, Russia loses her great industrial cities and populations. It is as if Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester were excluded from British frontiers by some new arrangement, although the resemblance is of course industrial, not political or geographical.

Historically speaking, then, Russia has been thrust back into the Seventeenth Century. It is as if a defeated Germany had been resolved into the fragments which existed at the moment when Frederick the Great began his great work, the work of unifying Northern Germany under Prussian rule, which was completed by Bismarck. Or, again, it is as if a defeated Italy were compelled to see the old division of the Congress of Vienna restored, the Kingdom of Naples reconstituted in the South, Venetia handed back to Austria, the valley of the Po and the regions immediately south of it once more parcelled out among several minor states.

We in the United States can best understand this situation by taking an American illustration. The Russian plight to-day resembles that in which our country would find itself if, after an unsuccessful foreign war and a concomitant domestic revolution, the South were separated from the Union, under the guarantees of foreign nations, those territories acquired in the Mexican War, including California, New Mexico, and Arizona, were returned to Mexico, the remainder of the Pacific coast allotted to Japan, and the Atlantic seaboard as far west as the Alleghanies erected into an independent state—independent only so far as the rest of the United States was concerned, but actually dependent upon Canada and

bound to it by all sorts of economic and political chains.

That great interior section north of Mason and Dixon's line and east of the Cascade Range, huge in area and in population, but destitute of seaports, deprived of all the great industrial regions, shackled economically and politically, would fairly represent that Russia which remains after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and its more recent emendations. Such a mutilated torso of the United States would be, for the moment at least, hopelessly and helplessly crippled. It would have neither access to the sea nor machinery with which to begin the industrial life of peace.

Now, in a very exact sense, that is what has happened in the case of Russia. All that is lacking to make the thing complete as a parallel is the occupation of Siberia by the Japanese, and this seems bound to come at no distant date, given things as they are in Russia and in the world.

II. GERMAN PURPOSE

Now, in examining this separation of Russia into its component parts, it is necessary to analyze German purpose from several directions. What are the Germans actually seeking to accomplish by their remaking of the map of Europe? What are the historical parallels and to what does any examination of these parallels lead? Finally, what portion of the present arrangement seems likely to last?

German purpose, at the outset, seems fairly clear. Russia is their great and hereditary enemy; and for many centuries the Germans have been engaged in a struggle with the Slavs, which continued in peace as well as in war. To destroy the unity of a nation of 180,000,000 bound in another half-century to increase to 300,000,000 and become a permanent and well-nigh irresistible threat to Germany is obviously the first of German purposes.

To accomplish this the Germans cannot annex much Russian territory, directly. The



THE BLACK AREAS HAVE BEEN LOST TO RUSSIA DURING THE WAR

task is too tremendous, given the dimensions of Russia. They can hope to detach the fringes, on which live a number of peoples or fragments of peoples submerged by the advance of the Russian wave in the last two centuries. Out of these they may endeavor to create a certain number of buffer states, which shall depend upon Germany for their existence and supply barriers against a fresh Russian incursion. It is for this purpose that Germany has undertaken to create a Lithuania and a Poland, and to assist in the liberation of Finland.

But these states are as nothing — mere outer edges, compared to the great Slav bulk. To succeed in her main purpose, Germany must divide the Slavs. She must procure and perpetuate a cleavage between north and south Russia, like to that existing in the United States during the Civil War, and she must bind one of these two sections, the weaker, necessarily, to herself. This is the policy expressed in the Ukraine.

Further than this, there must be no community of interest between these several states or their neighbors, neutral or belligerent. To accomplish this, Polish-speaking

populations have been assigned to Ukrainians and to the Lithuanians. German troops have joined the Ukrainians in fighting the Bolshevik north. Rumania has been offered Ukrainian lands in Bessarabia, where, to be sure, the population is mainly Rumanian, and Bulgaria has acquired the Rumanian seacoast and the one Rumanian port of Constanza.

"Divide and Rule" is the German principle, as it has long been the Austrian. A great and dangerous state on her eastern marches has been defeated in war and well-nigh destroyed in domestic revolution. Now is the moment to prevent any later rehabilitation and reunion. The chaos must be perpetuated; and for this purpose the Germans have drawn their frontiers and erected their new and jerry-built states. Primarily the purpose is to make Germany strong by preventing any restoration of Russian strength or reunion of Russian fragments.

But there is a second aspect to this policy of division. In each of the various states which have been sketched, if not created, there is a conservative element. It is the German landholding element, in the Baltic provinces; the great Polish landholders, in Russian Poland; the land aristocracy of Rumania; that considerable portion of the Ukraine population which holds its own land. Now the German is seeking to bind these conservative elements in all of these states—the minority, but the wealthy and politically influential elements—to himself. He undertakes to prevent the Russian Revolution from destroying these elements or depriving them of political supremacy.

Here is a division almost as important as the geographical. There will, necessarily, be a German party in all of these new states. It will seek its support outside of Russia, as the Royalists sought aid and found it outside of France in the years of the French Revolution. We have all had a complete revelation of the influence of the German party at the Russian Court in the days before the present Revolution—the influence which led to the betrayal and defeat of Rumania and the destruction of national defense, and which almost culminated in a separate peace between Romanoff and Hohenzollern.

Backed by German influence and by German bayonets, these minorities in the various buffer states are to rule. Their rule, like that of the Austrian-maintained princelets of Northern Italy, will necessarily be selfish and anti-national. But for a period of time,

at least, if the war in the West does not reverse the result in the East, the German will dominate these states which he is creating, and in this time all peril from the East will in his judgment be postponed, if not finally abolished.

III. THE COMMERCIAL ASPECT

So much for the political aspect; now for the economic. By the present arrangement Germany will acquire all the Baltic Coast of Russia, not directly, possibly, but through the agencies of the several states which she has created. Riga, Pernau, Libau, and Reval—all these ports will be under German domination and regulation. German influence will absolutely control the Baltic seagates of Great Russia.

In addition Germany is erecting an economic system even more interesting than the political. Her agents and her functionaries are to control—"reorganize" is the polite word—all the communications of Poland, Lithuania, and even of the Ukraine—in the latter case in order to hasten the arrival of Russian foodstuffs in Germany and Austria. Tariffs have been made in favor of the Germans at the various conferences which settled the question of war or peace.

In a word, all of Russia has been turned over to the German for economic exploitation. His garrisons are in Riga and Libau; they have just occupied Odessa and have long been in Constanza. Constantinople has become a German dependency, and when peace comes, if things remain as they are, the exploitation of the Turkish Empire by the German will be as certain and as complete as the exploitation of conquered Russia or "liberated" Poland. The railroads will be reconstructed by Germans and operated by them—operated as agencies to advance the interests of German manufacturers, for the railroad tariffs, like the customs dues, will be "made in Germany" for a German purpose.

It is well to grasp this whole question, as it exists. The war has cost Germany untold billions; her debt is tremendous. It has cost her several millions of her best human material and it has deprived her for many years of that position in the world market which was hers in July, 1914. Whatever happens, it will take decades to restore Germany's position in Great Britain, France, the United States, British and French colonies, and even in Italy. It may not be possible to do this at all.

Accordingly, Germany must seek elsewhere some outlet for her products, some field for her energies, and some source for raw materials which are essential to her industry. She has sought to find this new sphere in the regions conquered by her sword or penetrated by her armies, summoned to aid the existing government. She has been driven off the sea and repulsed at the frontiers of Western Europe. Her defeat there stands and will stand. She is, therefore, compelled to seek a new field, and in seeking a new field she is bound, also, to draw frontiers and divide peoples in such fashion as to prevent a subsequent assault from the east, when the Slav has recovered his strength, and thrown aside some portion of that Utopian dream which has for recent months obsessed him and led to his complete downfall.

Politically, Germany has constructed a colossal edifice in the East. Economically she has fashioned an instrument which, while it cannot replace her old machine, the machine which was making her supreme in the free markets of the world, may, if it can endure for a period of years mitigate in some degree the consequences of the war for German industry and German trade in the world. It is easy to exaggerate the economic possibilities, so impressive does German mapmaking in the East seem, when examined by the western populations, familiar only with trench operations on their own fronts. But it is not possible to deny the reality of German achievement or the patent possibilities for the immediate future—a future long enough to give Germany much profit economically and perhaps politically from the exploitation of the regions she has conquered and arranged in conformity with her own conceptions of her present and future needs.

What Napoleon did in Central Europe, after he had defeated Russia and conquered Austria and Prussia, Germany has done in the East. The various buffer states she has erected recall accurately that Kingdom of Westphalia and that Kingdom of Italy which Napoleon built. Just as he seized Hamburg and Dantzic, Trieste, Fiume, and Ragusa, even so Germany is, with disguises of her own sort, laying hands upon Riga and Libau, Constanza and Odessa. Rarely is there better evidence of the way in which history repeats itself than is furnished by a comparison of the consequences of the Napoleonic victories a little more than a century

ago—the consequences in Central Europe—with those of the present German victories in the East as they affect Eastern Europe.

IV. THE LONGER VIEW

Examining this German arrangement of Eastern Europe, the first question that inevitably comes to mind is: Can it last? Has Germany erected a new empire, which will persist as did the Roman and supply the basis for further extensions of Teutonic power? Will it ultimately give the Germans the same domination of Europe and of the world, enjoyed by the Romans? Or has the structure inherent weaknesses which in the light of history seem to doom it?

The answer to this last question, so important for all of us at this moment, is unmistakably an affirmative. The German structure, as it now stands, does deliberate violence to two principles which the Nineteenth Century established—the principles of nationality and of democracy. What Germany is endeavoring to do in what was once Russia the Austrians endeavored to do in Italy and in Germany, the French undertook to do all over Europe in the Napoleonic time. The states which Germany has built are built on foundations no more stable than those of Napoleon or of Metternich.

All of this is dimly perceived by many Germans and clearly by a few. Napoleon, after Jena, mutilated Prussia far more cruelly and completely than Prussia has been able to mutilate Russia. But seven years after Jena the Prussian people, the whole mass of Germans in a still unorganized Germany, sprang to arms against the French. The spirit of race and nationality asserted itself and all the states which had been so carefully carved out of the corpse of old Germany collapsed with the explosion of Leipzig. Even Napoleon's German allies were forced to quit him, in obedience to the imperious demand of their subjects.

Sooner or later the Slav renaissance must come—the Slav risorgimento, and when it comes, then the German rule and régime in Russia is doomed. Further than this, the arrival of this day of Russian awakening must be hastened in Russia as it was in Italy, by the excesses of that native aristocracy, maintained by foreign bayonets—the prototype of the aristocracy Austria established in Milan—that Germany is to set up now in Riga, in Warsaw, in Kiev. When one realizes how much a little people like

the Serbs have endured in the last five centuries, since their really flourishing empire fell before the onrush of the Turk, and still preserved their nationality and their desire for liberty, it is not difficult to believe that the Russians, in their own time, will escape the German yoke.

Actually the German has borrowed the method of Napoleon to carve the Russian territories and the system of Metternich to enslave the conquered populations. There has been nothing as reactionary, as anti-democratic as the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, with its actual as well as its implied provisions, since the Congress of Vienna and the subsequent Holy Alliance of the autocratic empires conspired to abolish the consequences of the French Revolution and insure the permanence of the blessings of absolutism. The same principles which Metternich denied, the principles of nationality and of democracy, have been denied by those who for Germany drew the later treaty.

The very arrogance of the German demands, the very extremes to which the Junkers have carried their ideas, are in the future certain to prove fatal to their real aims. Economic and political slavery have been imposed upon millions and millions of Slavs, Russians, Polish, Lithuanian, even Ukrainian. The way has been prepared to reduce these races to the condition of conquered populations in classical times. And looking back in history it will be seen that every attempt of this sort, since classical times, has led to swift and sure disaster for the state attempting it.

There are certain clear lessons which the Nineteenth Century taught. Napoleon, with all the clarity and splendor of his vision, failed to recognize the principle of nationality and it conquered him. Those who conquered Napoleon denied to Germany and to Italy the application of the principles which had brought them victory, and they even failed to recognize what had happened in France. As a consequence Germany and Italy obtained their unity upon the battlefield; and the French dynasty, restored, after Waterloo, lasted but fifteen years before it went into eternal exile.

For years Napoleon drew wealth, recruits, and power from the conquered nationalities about him, but with his first great defeat his creations collapsed. His representatives in the new states were prisoners or fugitives, and from Illyria to the Hook of Holland

the old masters came back welcomed by their subjects, although these new masters were speedily to prove unworthy of the confidence of those who recalled them. It can hardly be different, in the larger view, in Germany's new conquests. Lithuania, Poland, the Ukraine may or may not rejoin Russia, but they are no more likely to remain German-controlled than were Venetia or Piedmont to endure Hapsburg rule a century ago.

V. WHAT IT MEANS FOR US

But the complete revelation of German purpose has for us a plain meaning. It simplifies the whole problem. For example: In order to seize that road to India which starts at the Black Sea in Russian Armenia and goes from Batum to Baku on the Caspian and is prolonged beyond the Caspian to the frontiers of Afghanistan above Herat, the Germans compelled the Russians to turn over a million and a half of Armenians to the Turkish butcher. The Turk had already well-nigh exterminated the Armenians in his own territories. There was no longer any possibility of considering a peace with the German by reconciliation and understanding. With such a political policy there could be no understanding.

When Rumania was deprived of her seacoast—made a slave of the Bulgar in the economic sense—and, when, in addition she was compelled to consent to frontier rectifications which will give the Austrian a free and unobstructed road to Bucharest, thereafter, when the Rumanian oil wells were allotted to German, Bulgar and Austrian exploiters, there was an end of all talk of peace without annexations and without indemnities. When Poland was partitioned anew, when the Cholm district was assigned to the Ukrainian, here was a denial of all the rights of nationality; while the recognition of a few thousand Germans as the masters of millions of Slavs in the Baltic provinces and Lithuanian, was an ultimate evidence of how much Germany really cared for the principle of self-determination.

The very magnitude of the German offense against all that the western nations believe and all that we in the United States hold to, has had its beneficial effect for the Allies. It has silenced the voices of all but the pacifists and the pro-Germans. It has solidified all the elements of our country and of the other Allied nations behind their gov-

ernments, and confirmed the masses in the belief that there can be no peace-making while Germany is in her present mood, under her present leaders and while she retains that power over millions of men and women of conquered races, which the Russian collapse has bestowed upon her.

It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of this new unification of Allied peoples for the prosecution of the war at the outset of what must be the most critical campaign of all. The German has deliberately destroyed the case of those who, in the countries of his foes, were urging a peace by reconciliation. These are silenced by the German deeds in Armenia and Rumania. Indeed many of them have been converted to the doctrine that only by military victory can there be a salvation of the world from German mastery, from that German mastery which has revealed itself in its true colors at Brest-Litovsk and afterward.

And it seems to me that this is a great and permanent gain which has come to us out of all the misfortune and disaster of the Russian collapse. The Russians tried to talk peace with the Germans; they laid aside all old bitterness; they divested themselves of all traditional national aspirations; they offered the hand of friendship; they demobilized their armies; they deprived themselves of every means of defense. And when they had done this the Russians were ruthlessly robbed and despoiled of all that they possessed or could hope to possess. That this was an inevitable consequence of Russia's course a majority of the people of Russia's allies always believed, but only when the experiment was tried could the truth be incontrovertibly established. The Russian Revolution laid aside its weapons to prove that Germany was guiltless of previous and prospective crime and that the German people were in control of their government and prepared to make peace. Disarmed, the Russian Revolution was murdered, but in its death and by its death it revealed to us all exactly what the German purpose was and had been from the beginning. In so far the Russian course was a service, expensive as it must prove to all Russia's allies, and above all to Russia herself.

Thus, once more Germany has been unmasked and the necessity to abandon peace discussions has been established. We are standing where Europe stood in 1813 before Napoleon had been defeated at Leipzig. We know, as Europe knew then, that all peace

is impossible, it can prove but a truce as long as our enemy holds to a policy which means the destruction of the liberties and the denial of the rights of millions and millions of human beings whose rights and whose existence interfere with a German purpose or profit, however inconsiderable.

VI. THE WESTERN OFFENSIVE

And so we come back to the familiar question of the Western Offensive. What Germany has created in the East can only endure if she can obtain peace or a decision from her western foes. The chance of immediate peace has vanished with the revelation of her eastern policy. Thus if German power is to be confirmed and German arrangements perpetuated in Poland, Lithuania, Rumania, and about the Black Sea in Europe and Asia, Germany must defeat France, Britain and the United States on the Western front, or she must win such victories on the subsidiary fronts, in Macedonia and in Italy, as to break the nerve of her western foes and lead them to abandon the East to German exploitation.

Now, writing on March 17, the riddle of the German purpose in the West remains for me, as for everyone, unsolved. It may be that before this article reaches the reader there will be an answer. It may be that a German attack against the British, against the French, or against both may have begun and the final German effort to win the war by a decision in the field and against the western nations will have started.

On the other hand, there is no mistaking the fact that the belief that this German threat of an offensive was merely a threat, has gained ground in the last month. We know that the Germans are still outnumbered in the West, although their reinforcements, when they arrive from the eastern front, may give them a slight advantage, in no case a large superiority in numbers. We know that, even though the capture of Russian and Italian guns and the release of Austrian may have given them a superiority in the number of heavy and field guns, their supplies of munitionment will not exceed those of their enemies, and this is the capital question.

We know that, as a consequence of the various attacks of the previous campaigns, the Allies now hold practically all the high ground and the vantage points on the immediate front, and we know that three years

and a half have given them the opportunity, which has been improved, to create systems of communication which the Germans cannot rival. We know, too, that American troops are arriving and slowly but surely taking their place upon the battlefield and that they will be numerous enough, before this year is over, to abolish any temporary advantage in numbers, which the Germans may have.

It is a fact indisputable, that the Allied prospects, based upon resources, numbers, communications, are incomparably better than they were in the Marne campaign which they won, in the Verdun battle and siege, in which the French triumphed. We know that the Germans have no such superiority in guns or men as the British with their French allies had at the Somme two years ago, as they had in Flanders last summer and autumn. Yet in both cases the British advance was relatively slight, the German line was not pierced, and nothing approximating a decisive victory was won.

In the face of these facts the growing belief is that the Germans will not attack in the West. But if they do not attack in the West this year, they never can attack on this decisive front, because next year American armies will give the Allies a present and enduring superiority in guns, munitions, men. The last campaign in which the Germans can venture to seek a decision in the West, is now opening, indeed, so far as weather conditions are concerned, has already begun, for the weather has been good for major operations for many weeks now.

And if the Germans, abandoning all thought of a decision in the West, go to Italy or to Macedonia, no victory, however considerable on either or both fronts will win the war. At most, success there can only be a moral success which can be exploited in a new peace offensive, when the campaign of 1918 is over and winter has come again. It can only bring peace if the Allies have lost heart and courage and are willing to make a bargain peace, leaving Germany supreme from the Baltic to the Black Sea and entrenched on the road from Batum to Persia, Afghanistan and India.

A third possibility presents itself. Before she attacks in any field, Germany may now launch one more peace campaign, with her pistol pointed at the head of the western nations. The logic of such a venture is patent, but the chance of success, given the response of Allied publics to the German revelations in the East, must be recognized

as slight, even by the German. It may be necessary for home politics, it may be considered as likely to prove profitable to the German, who to-day misunderstands Allied public sentiment. But, even if it comes, it can hardly prove of much importance.

VII. WEST FRONT OR "SIDE SHOW"

In advance of the German decision we have all got to confine ourselves to a calculation of the chances as we see them, and let it go at that. The essential facts are plain enough. The Allies have surrendered the offensive because they no longer have that superiority in men and guns which is essential to a great attack and they will not have them again until next year, when the American army will be ready.

This gives Germany the chance to attack in the West. If she attacks and wins a decision, she will win the war and she cannot, in a military sense, that is, by her armies, win it on any other front. But if she attacks and suffers a new Verdun defeat or another Marne repulse, she will have lost tremendously in man-power, enormously in prestige, and she will be condemned to the defensive in the West henceforth. Her chance of supreme success is balanced by her risk of complete disaster.

On the other hand, an attack upon Italy would hold out greater promise of immediate tactical success, given the present Italian position. The burden of the casualties might be borne by Austria, who is most concerned. Any success would help Germany; any failure might be charged against Austria and German prestige preserved. A great victory might put Italy out; a smaller victory might carry the Austro-German line to the Adige and give the Central Powers a far better line of communications for next winter.

In the same way a victory in the Balkans would drive the Allied Army of the Orient out of Macedonia and shut them up in Salonica. Greece would be conquered and Constantine restored to the Hellenic throne. It would become the base for German submarines, and Salonica would be effectually bottled up, even though it could not be immediately captured. British communications with Egypt, India, and Palestine would be gravely imperiled and Greece would be brought within the lines of Mitteleuropa.

In such a campaign the major burden and the greater losses would be borne by the

Bulgarians, whose ambition to dominate the Balkans, to gain Salonica and Monastir, brought them into the war. Germany would lose comparatively little, while she would gain all that was gained, for Bulgaria is completely under German control and what Bulgaria acquires Germany will exploit.

Failure in the Balkans—and the chance of failure would be infinitely less than on the West front and materially smaller than in Italy—would diminish German prestige but little and cost Germany only hundreds of casualties; where the West front operation, successful or failing, would cost not less than a million.

A majority of foreign observers now believe that Germany will not attack in the West. They incline to the belief that the major German attack will be made in the Balkans; and they recognize the chance that in the Balkans a new German victory may be won. It would be a victory of only local importance, but such a victory as would materially cripple Allied transport further east, and impress the world with the idea of German invincibility. Equally clear is the recognition of the possibilities in Italy, although Italian prospects and morale have tremendously improved since last autumn.

To occupy Greece, to put Italy out of the war these would be the major objectives of German "sideshows" in Italy and in the Balkans. Limited successes in either field would be material aids to the German peace offensive of next autumn. Neither would cost so much as to depress German populations or increase the war strain of the German people largely, if only the most modest victories were attained or no real victory.

And it is essential to recognize, that Germany would thus maintain her eastern situation for another year and have this time for a further organization of the states she has created out of fallen Russia. She would, too, be able to insure the flow of food stuffs from Russia and Rumania into Germany and Austria and thus abolish the peril of famine, the greatest of all the menaces the war has had for her. But all these advantages would be of little ultimate value, if they meant that the Allies, reinforced by the United States, would resume the pressure in the West with the spring of 1919 and repeat the terrible experiences of the other western campaigns, which, whether on the offensive or the defensive, have cost Germany from a million to a million and a half of casualties in each campaign.

VIII. THREE AMERICAN "FRONTS"

The past month has seen a rapid increase in the activities of American troops in France. On the Toul front, facing the St. Mihiel salient, where our troops were reported as engaged last January and February, there has been a growing frequency of trench raids and of artillery duels. These things mean simply that our troops are "learning how," and that the first American contingent to have a real position of its own is daily putting into practise the lessons taught it behind the line.

All of this is of no great importance in itself. It is but a detail in the vast daily routine of trench life which goes on from the sea to Switzerland, on a line of nearly five hundred miles in which we hold rather less than ten miles at most. But it is a proof that we are getting ready rapidly.

In addition to this American activity on the Toul front, there have been official assertions that American troops are working on two other sectors, one of them in action along the Chemin des Dames, under the direction of French soldiers and at the scene of the great French victory of last autumn and near the field of the battles of the Aisne in September and October, 1914, and in April and May, 1917. This portion of our troops is only temporarily on the Aisne front. They seem almost certainly to be destined to rejoin Pershing on the St. Mihiel salient, when their training is over.

On the other hand, a third American contingent has been reported as fighting away down at the Vosges end of the French line, east of the fortress of Epinal and not far south of the French city of Lunéville; that is, at the southern extremity of the Lorraine front. Conceivably these troops, also, are only taking a turn at the trenches with French teachers. On the other hand, it is at least possible that they are taking over the other end of the Lorraine front, as the first troops to go on the line at St. Mihiel took over the northern end of the front, which is in the end to be the American front.

Several times in these articles I have indicated my belief that our army would ultimately take its position on the right of the French and facing the Germans between the Meuse and the Vosges, between St. Mihiel and Badonviller, which is near our new sector. The first troops we had on any part of the line were put in north of Luné-

ville, not many miles from the Badonviller sector, and our first soldiers to give their lives in battle are buried in the little village of Bathelémont, less than five miles north of Lunéville, on the Chateau Salins road, back of the Forest of Parroy.

Official confirmation of this purpose to put the American troops on the Lorraine front, and to take over the Lorraine front from the French in its entirety, from the Heights of the Meuse, a few miles south of Verdun to the Vosges, west of the peak of Donon, has been given in the press during the past month; and Americans who are interested have now ample opportunity to study the whole countryside which is to be the scene of American effort in this war. We may take it over bit by bit, our divisions being sandwiched between French divisions. We may take it over mile for mile, as our divisions get ready, first occupying the south side of the St. Mihiel salient and then the trenches beyond the Moselle from Pont-à-Mousson to the Vosges below Lunéville. But in some fashion, we are, according to the announcements permitted by our Government, to occupy all of the old Franco-German frontier, facing outward toward the gap between Metz and Strassburg and guarding the roads by which the Germans invaded Lorraine and sought to seize Nancy in August and September, 1914.

For many months still, however, our troops must wait their turn. They must wait as Kitchener's new army had to wait all through the first four terrible months of Verdun, because they were not yet able to relieve the French by making any offensive on their own front. Before the year is over we ought, to judge from what has been passed by the censor, to have at least half a million troops fit for service in the line. This represents a reinforcement to our Allies greater than their combined income of new recruits supplied by those of their youth reaching military age in a twelve-month period. It is greater than the annual German class, by at least 100,000. When we arrive in force French soldiers forty-five and even of fifty, who have borne the burdens of three years and a half of war, will be released and will be able to return home and help increase the product of French farms. We shall replace older men with men in the vigor of youth; and the military gain will be incalculable. Little as is our contribution up to date, every bit of help is now precious. We are beginning to do some-

thing. We must not exaggerate this tiny bit, but we can feel that it is a contribution, needed and useful, and the sure promise of far greater things to come.

To-day Pershing has an army in France at least twice as great as that army which Grant commanded when he set out for Richmond in the spring of 1864. So much M. André Tardieu, the French High Commissioner, told us weeks ago. It is probably three times as large as Meade's army at Gettysburg or Field Marshal French's army at Mons, at the Marne or at the Aisne. It is not, like those armies, made up of trained troops. It can hardly reach the effective battle strength of the British army in its second campaign of the present war, this year. But it may prove of no little value before the campaign is over, even if its firing-line strength does not exceed the numbers already in France in January.

Every one outside of military circles has been a little dazzled by the fashion in which numbers have been discussed since the outbreak of war and the millions of men mobilized reckoned as firing-line units. The truth is that neither the British nor the French have ever had many more than a million troops in their regular organized establishment at any one time; and the Germans, who now have on the western front about 185 divisions, or approximately, 2,000,000 men, have never used more than 220 divisions, which is the strength of their army, the organized strength, as contrasted with the troops maintained in the depots to replace losses, the troops in training camps designed to repair other wastage, and the troops guarding communications.

If by the end of next winter we are able to put half a million in the field and provide the reserves to fill the gaps made by battle and trench attrition, we shall make a contribution of very real importance and of respectable proportions. Such an army, too, could hold seventy-five or a hundred miles of front, if the artillery were forthcoming, if the French could supply any gun-shortage on our part, as they probably could, temporarily at least. What this would mean to the French cannot be exaggerated, for the British can do little more in the way of taking over French trenches. The sector which they took over the other day, that from St. Quentin to the Oise, probably represents their last extension, and this leaves the French with more than two-thirds of the line still to look out for.

OUR NAVY IN THE WAR

BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

[After presenting the new estimate of naval expenditure to Congress last month, Secretary Daniels courteously sent to the editor of this REVIEW, in response to our request, a message for our readers on the marvelous expansion of our naval personnel and equipment. We also print with great pleasure the Secretary's fine statement on the spirit and exploits of the Navy in its thrilling and perilous efforts to clear the sea of the submarine scourge. This tribute to the Navy's heroes at sea was a part of the Secretary's recent address to a class of naval reserves at Annapolis.—THE EDITOR.]

I.—A YEAR'S WONDERFUL EXPANSION

OUR experts on the many and intricate phases of the naval side of the war are studiously working in the closest coöperation, both among themselves and with the leading men of our allies, with whom there has been a particularly frank and free interchange of naval and technical information. Hence, our course of action is guided by the dictates of the best intelligence on matters naval at our command. As I said in my report, "Not only as to broad policies but also with respect to details of construction and tactics are we in close touch" with our allies, and it is upon the conclusions reached from these coöperative studies and interchanges of information and views that our estimates and proposals find origin.

The preëminent need in the Navy is for the destroyer and other small craft; and the preëminent need of carrying troops to France and getting supplies to them calls for merchant ships. Consequently, every facility in the country that may be employed in the construction of these types of vessels should be free to be utilized to the fullest extent.

For this reason I have not asked for appropriations to begin work on the vessels of the three-year program remaining to be initially appropriated for. It has not been practicable to begin the construction of some of the larger vessels of the program under the provisions of the Naval Act approved the 4th of last March. All energy is bent upon providing craft of the types I have mentioned; and not until all ways are no longer required for these would it seem proper to lay down vessels which take from three to four years to place in commission.

I am keenly desirous of completing the three-year program. It will be a big step toward "incomparably the strongest Navy in the world," which is the goal established by the President; and if any opening arises to

commence the vessels not yet started that are embraced in that program, I am not going to let the opportunity pass. We have sufficient money available to begin operations on all of them; and in my hearings I have asked that authority be given in the forthcoming Naval Bill to go ahead on any or all of them, with the balance of money remaining, should the way become clear.

Thus far the appropriations I have recommended in the next bill total \$1,364,638,-624.04. Of this sum \$212,488,000 is definitely set aside toward the completion of vessels under construction, and \$100,000,000 is to go mainly toward the construction of additional destroyers and other small craft. Previous appropriations for new construction since our participation in the war, including the money made available in the Act of March 4, 1917, amount, in all, to \$533,-107,070.

I have recommended an appropriation of \$188,042,969 for aviation, for which purpose \$56,000,000 has already been provided since the declaration of war. For ordnance purposes the recommendations total \$135,-884,188.50. For this object there has been provided (including \$15,500,000 in the pending urgent deficiency bill and including the appropriations in the Act of March 4, 1917) \$409,862,243.50, besides an authorization in the pending urgency deficiency bill to incur obligations in excess of appropriations to the extent of \$34,264,000. The remaining sum covers the operation of the Naval Establishment, afloat and ashore, including all expenses incident to personnel and further generous provision for public work.

The enormity of naval credits, made and pending, since war became imminent—I will not go back of March 4, 1917—may be better realized by stating that they total

\$3,023,693,155.49 as compared with the total expenditures of the Navy from 1794 to 1916, inclusive (122 years), which amount to \$3,367,160,691.77.

I have recommended a further increase in the enlisted strength of the Navy for the period of the war to 180,000 men, exclusive of apprentice seamen, men under training in trade schools and men for aviation, and a further increase in the Marine Corps to 50,000 men. The Navy and Marine Corps, which a year ago had a total enlisted strength of about 67,000, now constitute, without the increase I have recently recommended, a force of more than a quarter of a million men. This, of course, includes naval reserves, hospital corps men, national naval volunteers, the naval militia and the coast

guard, which is a part of the Navy for the war.

Much credit for what has been accomplished is due Congress. It has voted liberal appropriations and passed much needed and helpful legislation.

These are not times to procrastinate. We are going ahead as rapidly as possible in all the many branches of the work without hindrance for lack of funds or legal restraints of any particular consequence. In conclusion, permit me to repeat the closing paragraph of my last report, to wit: "Much remains to be done, but it will be done cheerfully, gladly, efficiently. The plans have been made on a scale commensurate with the task. They will be carried out with speed, with confidence, and with ultimate success."

II.—THE SPIRIT OF THE NAVY

DESTROYERS, submarine chasers, patrol boats furnish practically independent command for younger officers who are put, as the British say, "on their own." This service requires unceasing watchfulness and preparedness, instant decision and action—qualities that have been displayed by these young Americans in a superlative degree. Battles with U-boats are measured in minutes, not hours. It requires a keen eye to see a periscope two thousand yards away, to train and fire a gun at a boat which can submerge in half a minute.

"Damn the torpedoes; go ahead!" Farragut's order at Mobile Bay expresses the spirit of our destroyer crews. They are not content with convoying merchantmen and guarding them from attack. They "go after" the submarines, and ask only where the enemies are. Read the story of the *Cassin*, which, though struck by a torpedo and seriously crippled, refused to return to port as long as there appeared to be a chance of engaging the submarine which had fired its deadly missile and submerged. The whole country was thrilled by the account of the exploit of the *Fanning* and the *Nicholson* in destroying a German submarine and capturing its entire crew. The British Admiral in commending officers and men said the incident showed that the destroyer is "a man-of-war in the best sense of the term, well disciplined and organized and ready for immediate action," and he concluded: "The whole affair reflects credit on the discipline and training of the United States' Flotilla."

There is many another story of the courage and energy of the men who are performing this arduous duty in foreign waters, which, for military reasons, cannot now be told. But their work will form a bright chapter in the history of this war.

Even disaster has been illumined by deeds of bravery and self-sacrifice, of men who were "faithful unto death." The first officer lost in the present conflict, Lieutenant Clarence C. Thomas, after the *Vacuum* was sunk, cheered his freezing men as they were tossed about in an open boat far from land, and he at last perished from cold and exposure. After the *Jacob Jones* was sunk by the sudden blow of a torpedo, Lieutenant (Junior Grade) S. F. Kalk, though weakened by shock and exposure, swam from raft to raft, to equalize the load and keep afloat the men who were awaiting rescue, and in the night, before succor arrived, perished. Every other officer and man displayed coolness and courage in the black hour of dire peril when most of them went unafraid to meet their Pilot "face to face."

Let us not forget those two gunners of the *Antilles* who stood by their guns until it was too late to escape, and the radio operators who remained at their posts, sending out calls of distress while the vessel went down.

These are heroes as truly as were the men of the *Bon Homme Richard* fighting under John Paul Jones or of the *Niagara* under Perry.

The gunners of the armed guards on merchantmen have made a record of which

we may be justly proud. The contests of the *Silver Shell*, which sent down the submarine which attacked it; of the *Moreni*, on which the men stayed at their guns until the flames flared up to the top of the smokestacks on the burning ship; of the *Campana*, whose gunners fought for hours until their ammunition was exhausted; of the *J. L. Luckenbach*, which, though under a rain of shells, hit nine times and temporarily disabled, fought a submarine for four hours, before aid arrived, and later managed to reach port under her own steam; of the *Armenia*, which, though torpedoed, was saved through the courage and resource of its captain, crew and armed guard; of the *Navajo*, the *Mongolia*, the *Petrolite* and a dozen others are notable enough to be recorded in the naval history of the time.

These operations in the war zone, the coast patrol, the navigation and convoy of transports, of supply and munition ships, the defense of merchantmen are developing a body of as fine young officers as ever trod a deck. Such service brings out all that is best in them—resource, initiative, self-confidence, self-dependence; readiness to meet any emergency; the courage that calmly faces any danger. The Navy is no place for weaklings; but it does offer to the brave and able the greatest of adventures, the opportunity for service of the highest importance, with the reward of duty well done and the thanks of a grateful country which does not forget those who serve it well. What American could ask more?

It is now nearly a year since diplomatic relations were broken off with the Imperial German Government. We have won victories at sea, we have transported many soldiers safely across the ocean, we have already sealed our devotion with the blood of gallant soldiers and sailors, and are ready to sacrifice millions to make the world a free place for peaceful men to live in. We glory that the spirit of the America of the early days lives to-day, and that no act of ours has been bloody or brutal or wanton.

The Navy—and the same ideals animate the Army—has not forgotten the directions that its first captain received from Benjamin Franklin. Under authority of Congress Franklin issued instructions to John Paul Jones which are in marked contrast with

the instructions which are given to German captains of our day. The colonies were sorely pressed. If ever a nation might have pleaded necessity as an excuse for ignoring the laws of humanity it was the struggling and poorly equipped colonists. But hard pressed as they were, let us rejoice that Benjamin Franklin bade John Paul Jones "not to burn defenseless towns on the British coast except in cases of military necessity, and in most cases he was bidden to give notice so that women and children, with the sick and aged inhabitants, might be removed betimes."

These words seem to be a voice from a past century rising up to rebuke the bloody nation which failed to adopt Franklin's humane policy, all the more remarkable in a century when piracy was common upon the highways of the sea. But the American philosopher hoped his young navy would not only refrain from ruthlessness, but expressed the ardent wish that the commander might render service to a sea-captain whose discoveries had won him fame, for Franklin bade the American cruisers, if they chanced to meet Captain Cook, the great English explorer, to "forget the temporary quarrel in which they were fighting and not merely suffer him to pass unmolested but offer him every aid and service in their power."

If you wish to find the difference in America's method of warfare, it is embodied in Franklin's instructions to John Paul Jones, while if you wish to see the German ideal you need only recall the fate of the *Lusitania*, the many victims of Germany's stilettos of the seas, and the destruction of hospitals and homes and Red Cross houses of mercy. We are at war to-day with Benjamin Franklin's tender regard of non-combatants, while our foes boast of the barbaric exploits which regard not women or children or the places where nurses care alike for the wounded of every nation. You will read in vain in the naval orders of the world for so excellent a model as the orders drawn by the Quaker patriot for Captain John Paul Jones. In the spirit with which Franklin penned that order the Navy Department of to-day sends its brave sailors into war against the undersea assassins. I love to think that the America of to-day is worthy of the America of the days of John Paul Jones and Benjamin Franklin.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SOLDIER'S FAMILY

BY SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY

(Professor of Social Legislation in Columbia University)

[Some months ago, when the Soldiers' Insurance legislation was pending in Congress, we published a valuable article from Dr. Lindsay's pen which outlined the plan and helped to secure its prompt adoption. The present article explains in an authoritative way the nature of the system as it is now working, particularly the part having to do with family allowances. Dr. Lindsay is Special Adviser to Mr. Thomas B. Love, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in matters pertaining to War Risk Insurance.—THE EDITOR.]

EVERY patriotic man, woman or child, who wants sincerely to "do his bit" to help win this war must expect to make some sacrifice, to do without many things which would be considered ordinarily necessary and proper, and to suffer many hardships. If, however, you know anyone who has already made the great sacrifice of giving up a father, husband, son, brother, or near relative to the extra hazardous "active service" of the military and naval forces of the country, and is at the same time suffering want or distress for lack of food or shelter which money can buy in his neighborhood, the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department at Washington wants to hear from you or from such person direct.

A just and generous Government through the action of a patriotic Congress has planned to prevent and alleviate such suffering, not as a matter of charity but of right, not years afterward, through the political favoritism of pensions, but at once by a new scientific application of the principles of social justice.

The Government expects every enlisted man to do his duty not only to his country but also to his family and those dependent upon him for support. Congress enacted in the soldiers' and sailors' insurance law of October 6, 1917—enlarging the activities of the Government bureau of war risk insurance in the Treasury Department—the most generous and far-sighted piece of social legislation that any country has yet put forth. It contains three great divisions: (1) A provision for both compulsory and voluntary allotments of pay, and family allowances to be granted and paid by the Government to the families and dependents

of all enlisted men (including women) in the military and naval forces; (2) payment by the Government of compensation and indemnities for death or disability resulting from personal injury suffered or disease contracted in the line of duty, and not due to wilful misconduct, by any commissioned officer or any enlisted man or member of the Nurse Corps (female); (3) a provision for cheap insurance which commissioned officers, enlisted men or members of the Nurse Corps (female) may take voluntarily as added protection.

Any one of these features alone would have been a staggering undertaking for our Government according to pre-war conceptions of public policy in the United States. All three together constitute a new governmental enterprise no less difficult to manage and no less colossal in its conception than the government operation of the combined railroad systems of the United States. The country does not yet fully understand or appreciate the magnitude and the possibilities of what has been quietly put into operation by the War Risk Bureau under the daring leadership of Secretary McAdoo, now Director General of the Railways of the United States, as well as Secretary of the Treasury. Still less is this ample provision for the welfare of the soldiers' and sailors' families fully known and availed of as yet by those whom it is intended to benefit most directly—the men of our fighting forces and their families.

The voluntary insurance which is really supplemental to the main protection the Government provides has attracted the chief attention thus far. This is natural since the response from the Army and Navy has far

exceeded the most sanguine expectation. Many of the largest units of the military forces are more than 90 per cent. insured. The maximum insurance protection which is allowed in addition to allowances and compensation benefits for death or injury is \$10,000 per man.

THE WORLD'S BIGGEST INSURANCE COMPANY

On March 15 over 1,500,000 persons in the military and naval forces were insured for over twelve billion dollars (\$12,000,000,000) and for an average of over \$8000 per man. This makes the U. S. Government the largest insurance company in the world; and the average business for one day often exceeds \$100,000,000 of insurance written and a total number of policies exceeding the total outstanding insurance business of a large private company which has been in business for fifty years. Every soldier and every member of a soldier's family or his friend will have cause for regret if he does not see to it personally that the soldier who is not yet insured gets the full amount of this cheap insurance. If he now has a policy for less than \$10,000 he should take out a *supplemental* policy for the balance. Congress has generously extended the privilege to April 12th for all who were in the service on or before December 14, 1917, and every new entrant into the active service has one hundred and twenty days from the date of entrance.

So much for insurance. Great as has been the magnitude of the task of informing the men and their families of their privilege and duty in that respect, that work is largely done and it has been the least of the difficulties of the War Risk Bureau.

PROVISION FOR SOLDIERS' FAMILIES

In this brief article I want to dwell chiefly on the Allotments and Family Allowances and bring home to our soldiers and sailors and more particularly to their home folks who share the burdens and anxieties of war what the Government wants to do for them through its provision for allotments and family allowances which will enable all the people to share those burdens.

Congress laid the right foundation for this law by raising the pay of the enlisted men in the army and navy, making the minimum pay for nearly all in the service \$30 a month, or double what it was before in most cases, and higher than that of any other army in the world. This was a just measure to

protect the highest standards of living in any country when so many of our citizens were to be called upon to forsake their usual peaceful occupations. But this was not enough to equalize the sacrifices which all citizens must make in time of war. No rate of pay for the army and navy could be made high enough to do that. So Congress proceeded to supplement the regular pay upon the theory that since the call to arms does not annul the moral and legal obligations of every man to support his family and those who have a blood-tie claim upon his earnings, it is the plain duty of the whole country which he serves to aid him financially to do this without undue lowering of his standard of living, and without requiring a disproportionate sacrifice on the part of his dependents.

CLASSIFICATION OF DEPENDENTS

This is sound doctrine, however, only when the enlisted man first does his part and contributes from his own resources all he can reasonably spare. Therefore we begin with the allotment which must precede a request for an allowance. Allotments and family allowances are not provided for commissioned officers or for members of the Nurse Corps (female). The allotment is compulsory for every enlisted man who has a wife, or child under 18 years of age or any age if the child is insane or permanently helpless, or a divorced wife to whom alimony has been decreed by a court, and who has not remarried. These persons constitute what is known as "Class A" dependents. A common-law wife is entitled to the same consideration as a legal wife and the claims of a legal wife and of all children take precedence of those of a divorced wife. Every enlisted man is required to file with the War Risk Bureau a statement, for which an allotment and allowance blank is furnished, showing whether or not he has any dependents, and if so how many, and what are their blood or marriage relationships to him.

Nearly a million and a half such statements are now on file in the War Risk Bureau and about 830,000 of them claim that they have no dependents for whom allotment of pay is compulsory or for whom they wish to make a voluntary allotment. Some of these no doubt will be found to have a wife or child for whom they seek to evade responsibility, and such wife or child or some one on their behalf should make application direct to the bureau if they

do not receive the allotment and the man will be brought to account. If an allotment is made for any beneficiary and through inadvertence or otherwise no request has been made for a family allowance, the wife, child or beneficiary, or someone on their behalf, should apply to this bureau for the family allowance. Some will later want to make voluntary allotments for Class B dependents when perhaps they find it more convenient to do so. Class B dependents for whom the allotment is voluntary include parents, brothers, sisters and grandchildren. Parents include grandparents and step-parents either of the person in the service or of the spouse. Brothers and sisters include those of the half blood and step-brothers and step-sisters and brothers and sisters through adoption. Even if Class B dependents are in want, an enlisted man is not compelled to make an allotment for their support, but he must do so before the Government will pay any family allowance to them.

The allowance in all cases both for Class A and Class B dependents is granted only when applied for, after the necessary amount of allotment of pay has been made.

The allotment must in practically every case where an allowance is asked for be at least \$15 per month, and must equal the amount of the allowance which the Government is asked to give, provided such amount is not more than half the monthly pay.

Where a man has Class A dependents, but no Class B dependents he must allot at least \$15 per month and as much more up to half his pay to equal the allowance requested according to the following schedule: for a wife but no child, \$15; a wife and one child, \$25; a wife and two children, \$32.50, with \$5 per month additional for each additional child up to a total of \$50, which is the maximum Government allowance to the dependents (Classes A and B) of any one man under all circumstances; no wife but one child, \$5; two children, \$12.50; three children, \$20; four children, \$30, and \$5 for each additional child. These allowances to Class A dependents are made without reference to dependency or need except that they may be waived by a wife who gives evidence of sufficient means for her own support, but may not be waived by a child, and a man may be exempted in certain exceptional circumstances from making a compulsory allotment.

When a man in the service has Class A dependents for whom he is making an allot-

ment and in addition has Class B dependents for whom he wants an allowance he must make an additional allotment equal to one-seventh of his pay. Under exceptional circumstances this additional allotment may be waived by the bureau. Class B dependents receive allowances as follows: One parent, \$10; two, \$20; each grandchild, brother or sister, or additional parent, \$5, provided the total family allowance for Classes A and B dependents for one man does not exceed \$50 per month.

ALLOWANCES FOR DEPENDENTS OF WOMEN

As there are no compulsory allotments for a woman in the service, her dependents are always Class B dependents. For Class B dependents where there are no Class A dependents men and women alike in the service must allot, if they want allowances for their Class B dependents, an amount not less than \$15 per month, and equal to the allowance which the Government will give, provided such amount is not more than half the monthly pay. Women receive for children, who would be Class A dependents for men, allowances as follows: One child, \$5; two children, \$12.50; three children, \$20; four children, \$30, with \$5 per month for each additional child.

Class B allowances are subject to two conditions: (1) The person receiving the allowance must need it and be dependent in whole or in part for support upon the person making the allotment. They need not be wholly dependent. They may have earnings of their own or also other sources of support. (2) The total of the allotment and the allowance paid to the dependents must not exceed the amount of the habitual contribution from the man to the dependents in all cases where dependency existed prior to enlistment or prior to October 6, 1917. Otherwise the Government allowance will be proportionately reduced.

The total of the allotment and family allowance for a divorced wife may not exceed the amount of the alimony decreed.

LIBERAL INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW

The War Risk Bureau, in its regulations made under the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury, has sought to interpret and apply the law in the broadest and most sympathetic way. For example, the regulation which defines dependency says:

For the purposes of the War Risk Insurance Act, a person is dependent in whole or in part,

upon another, when he is compelled to rely, and the relations between the parties are such that he has a right to rely in whole or in part on the other for his support.

Also, if a Class B dependent, for whom a family allowance is claimed, becomes dependent in whole or in part on the enlisted man, subsequent to both enlistment and October 6, 1917, the limitation as to habitual contributions is regarded as not applicable, and the family allowance is paid without regard to it.

A further illustration of liberality in interpretation is found in the definition of "total disability," which refers, of course, to the matter of compensation for injury and to insurance benefits in certain cases:

Any impairment of mind or body, which renders it impossible for the disabled person to follow a gainful occupation is deemed total disability and is deemed permanent whenever it is founded upon conditions which render it reasonably certain that it will continue throughout the life of the person suffering from it.

Family allowances are payable for one month after a man is discharged from the service, but are not provided for more than one year after the termination of the war.

The conditions of dependency and habitual contribution make investigation to prevent fraud, and adjustment to the changing conditions affecting dependents, such as births and deaths in the family, children reaching the age of eighteen, or contracting marriage before that age, and economic conditions affecting the family income, of the greatest complexity and difficulty in maintaining the necessary records in the War Risk Bureau in order that awards may be made promptly and allowances paid accurately each month as they become due. Severe penalties are provided for intentional fraud. Anyone knowingly making a false statement of a material fact in connection with claims under the Act is guilty of perjury and will be punished by a fine up to \$5000, or by imprisonment up to two years, or both. A beneficiary, whose right to payments under the Act ceases, and who fraudulently accepts such payments thereafter, will be punished by a fine up to \$2000, or by imprisonment up to one year, or both. Only great loyalty and patriotism on the part of several thousand employes of all grades has made it possible to establish a new organization, housed in several different buildings, working under the greatest

physical limitations under present circumstances in Washington, and to get this work reasonably well started.

Within four months since November 1, when allowances became payable, over a million checks have been sent out, aggregating more than \$18,000,000 for allotments and \$11,000,000 for allowances. Over a million index cards have been prepared and properly filed, and only 15,000 applications were held in suspense at the end of this period for further correspondence and investigation before awards were made.

Delays have been inevitable. The Government has had to rely upon outside agencies to tide over cases of need until its relief could be made effective. The patience of many beneficiaries whose claims could not be adjusted as promptly as the Government desired, has doubtless been taxed. The difficulties of making records or getting information concerning men scattered all over the world, in military camps, in the Expeditionary Forces, and on ships at sea, cannot be fully appreciated by every family whose interests naturally seem to them to be of paramount importance. The work is rapidly being brought under efficient business control, and most of the difficulties, delays and mistakes of the past four months are not likely to continue much longer.

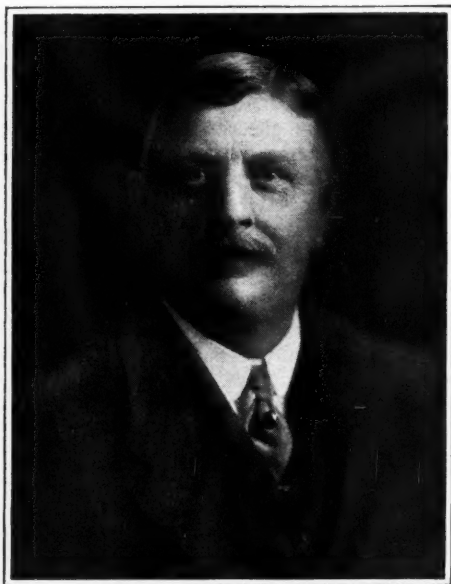
The War Risk Bureau needs the coöperation of every social agency in the community that comes in contact with the families of the men in the service. Leadership, intelligent planning, and initiative, is often lacking in the family that most needs the help the Government is anxious to give, but may not be furnishing at all, or not to the fullest extent contemplated under the law. Friends of such families, who know of the law, of its purpose and scope, and how to reach those who have to do with its application, should bring such matters to the attention of the War Risk Bureau.

A strong fighting Army and Navy will be the stronger from a sense of security and social solidarity which they realize is thrown about those they leave behind. In creating this sense of security and social solidarity, not only social agencies, clubs, fraternal societies, churches, and charitable organizations, but every individual citizen may have an important part, and thus become a vital factor in sustaining the morale, the peace of mind, and the fighting efficiency of those at the front.

MICHIGAN'S WAR ACTIVITIES

BY HON. ALBERT E. SLEEPER, GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN

[One of the effective and patriotic Executives who direct the emergency work of our States in the war period is Governor Sleeper, of Michigan. What he tells our readers herewith of the efforts of that great commonwealth is most encouraging. Michigan's automobile industry and her many other manufacturing plants, as well as her agriculture, are going to make a great record for the year 1918.—THE EDITOR.]



HON. ALBERT E. SLEEPER
(Governor of Michigan)

MICHIGAN factories are turning out huge supplies for the Government. Motor trucks are being built by the thousand, and Henry Ford is planning to construct U-boat chasers on a colossal scale. In fact the whole of the immense manufacturing power of the State is at the disposal of the President and his advisers.

Last April the Michigan State Legislature appropriated the sum of \$5,000,000 for war purposes. The State War Board, consisting of the elected State officers with the Governor as chairman, is charged with the administration of this fund; and while we have been careful in the use of our money, while we have tried to avoid useless or wasteful expenditure, we have used money, and used it freely, wherever we have felt we could help the cause of the nation by so doing.

We have contracted for the purchase of a thousand farm tractors and an equal number of tractor plows, and if more are needed they will be forthcoming. These tractors will be re-sold to individual farmers, under a guarantee from each purchaser that he will keep his machine constantly at work. Not only will he do his own plowing but he will take care of his neighbor. This arrangement will help to minimize the inevitable shortage of farm labor from which the State will suffer this coming season. The State, too, is making further arrangements to solve the farm labor problem.

We have also purchased a supply of seed corn and spring wheat which will be distributed through the various sections where the need is greatest. We have, too, a large surplus of potatoes from last year's crop which have not been marketed, and, realizing that the growers would suffer heavy loss unless something could be done to bring relief, we have undertaken an experiment in dehydration, which, if successful—and we have little doubt about that—will take care of part of the big crop now on hand and next season will enable us to handle the whole crop.

Some months ago the War Board authorized the State Board of Health to deal with the subject of venereal disease not only in relation to the soldier but among the civilian population as well. This was done under the direction of Dr. R. M. Olin, Secretary of the Board of Health; and the Michigan plan has so commended itself to the War Department that they have recommended it for adoption in all the States of the Union.

The War Board, through the State Highway Department, has expended approximately \$300,000, in the construction and maintenance of military highways.

Last summer the "I. W. W's." started in to make trouble in the Iron Country, but the despatch of a detachment of our mounted

State Constabulary to the scene nipped the trouble in the bud, and we are assured by those in closest touch with the situation that our prompt action in this matter avoided serious disturbance in the mining region of the State. As it is, everything has been quiet there, and our men are still on guard. The Constabulary was organized since our entry into the war, and the general feeling seems to be that the service rendered in this part of the State alone has furnished ample justification for their establishment as a branch of the State Military organization. They have also done effective work in other parts of the State, guarding munitions plants, elevators, docks and the like.

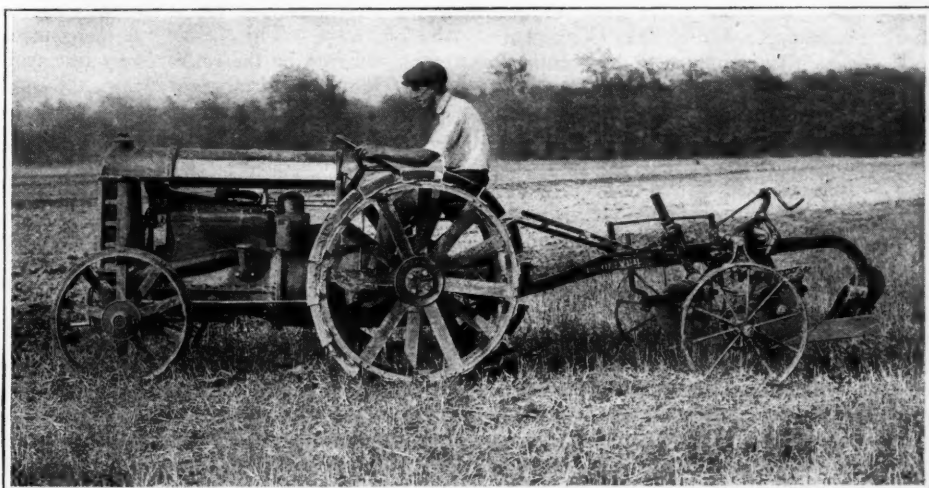
We have been endeavoring also to take care of the boys who have gone to the training camps. We arranged to loan a maximum sum of \$400 to each young officer in need of financial assistance for the purchase of his equipment. We take their personal notes, and all these loans will be paid back, unless, and we do not like to think of that, the boys do not come back to us. We have been taking care of the dependents of our soldiers too, the wives and the babies and the mothers of both enlisted and drafted men. We have been paying from \$10 to \$50 a month to hundreds of families where the bread-winner has gone to war or into training. The national government has been necessarily slow in getting money to the many thousands of women and children dependent on the men who have been called into the service. In

the meantime, we have done what we could to tide over the period of financial stringency. We are determined to do our best for the comfort of the boys themselves and of the dear ones they have left behind. I might say in passing that we also purchased 16,000 pairs of rubbers for the boys in Camp Custer.

In each of our eighty-three counties we have established a County War Board. The County Boards in turn have recommended a Township or Ward Board in each township and ward in the State. These boards have been chosen with great care. We have done our best to secure the men who do things, and we believe we have an effective organization covering every corner of the State. It will be the business of these men to take the lead in all patriotic endeavors in their several communities.

In this connection mention should be made of the splendid work which has been done by the women of Michigan. They have risen nobly to the occasion, and their efforts have been most effective. They are now preparing for a State-wide registration of women for war service.

I am glad to be able to say that our State is united in its determination to do its full share toward winning the war. We realize the serious nature of the situation. We know that there is not only hard work ahead of us but suffering and sacrifice; but we have put our hand to the plow and we shall not look back.



THE FORD TYPE OF FARM TRACTOR AND PLOW PURCHASED IN LARGE NUMBERS BY THE STATE OF MICHIGAN, TO RELIEVE FARM-LABOR SHORTAGE



TRUCKS USED IN FAST DELIVERY SERVICE BETWEEN NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA

MOTOR TRUCKS TO THE RESCUE

UNUSUAL USES AND APPLICATIONS THAT ARE HELPING TO RELIEVE THE TRANSPORTATION CRISIS

BY HARRY WILKIN PERRY

"THIS is Brown, Jones & Smith, commission merchants. We have a truck load of eggs coming down from Hartford. Do you know where we can get a return load?"

This telephone inquiry was received by the Chamber of Commerce recently in New York. It is typical of messages that are being passed over the wires daily in New York, Philadelphia, and cities in Connecticut.

It means that America is awakening to some of the possibilities that lie in her system of improved highways and the several hundred thousand privately owned motor trucks in the United States.

The Return Load system is being worked out as one of several plans for increasing transportation facilities. There is no need to dwell on the pressing necessity for more and better transportation. The winter's fuel situation brought directly home to everybody the fact that the railroads, which have been the pride of America, are unequal to the increased burden imposed on them by the feverish activities of industry and commerce, stimulated by the war. Merchants, manufacturers, miners, and farmers have all suffered annoyances, anxieties, and losses—due to freight and express embargoes, shipping

delays, and total inability at times to get freight cars during the last three years.

RELIEVING RAILROAD FREIGHT CONGESTION

Among the relief plans proposed by the Highway Transport Committee of the Council of National Defense was that so-called short-haul freight and express shipments be transferred from the railroads to the highways. This involves establishment of an embargo by the railroads against shipments within a distance of fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five miles of a city, thereby forcing such shipments upon the highways.

The railroads have already been ordered to refuse intra-city shipments in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore—that is, shipments originating in and consigned to points within the same city. In Philadelphia there is an embargo on all shipments within ten miles of the City Hall.

Capacity of the railroads is limited mainly by terminal facilities; and the terminals are hopelessly congested with freight of all kinds. Much of this congestion is due to short-haul freight which can be handled as well or better by highway. By eliminating this miscellaneous small-lot freight, the freight houses and railroad yards will be cleared for long-

distance shipments that can be hauled economically and in volume only by the railroads.

"RETURN LOADS" IN CONNECTICUT

It was realized, however, that under present conditions, the highways were not being used most efficiently. Motor trucks were being used to some extent for haulage and delivery over distances of one hundred miles or more, but usually they returned to their home towns empty. Hence the return load plan was evolved. It was first put into operation in Connecticut, where there are many cities close together, with a first-class system of State highways, much manufacturing, and many motor trucks, and where railroad shipping conditions have been particularly bad.

The idea was taken up by the energetic State Council of Defense. In each city the local chamber of commerce or war bureau was asked to establish a Return Loads Bureau. The purpose of this bureau is to secure information from merchants and manufacturers as to goods they wish delivered in neighboring cities. The Return Loads Bureau is listed in the telephone book, so that a driver arriving in the city with a truck load for delivery may call up the Bureau and secure a load for the return trip. Thus the trucks operate at full efficiency, carrying double the quantity of freight, rendering valuable service to shippers, and reducing the charge for haulage.

Owners of trucks are glad to avail themselves of this opportunity to cut down their own costs of operation, and shippers who have no trucks of their own find the service an important aid.

The system is now being extended to link up the cities along the Atlantic seaboard from Boston to Washington, taking in those in eastern Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York City and its environs, New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the eastern part of Maryland. It is expected that eventually it will be worked out in other sections of the country where conditions are favorable.

LONG-DISTANCE MOTOR TRUCKING

While the return-load plan is a new method of utilizing motor trucks and the highways more fully, there is nothing new in the idea of hauling by motor between cities fifty to one hundred miles apart. Long-distance moving by motor van is a part of

the every-day business of the storage warehouse and van companies. It is quicker, cheaper, and more satisfactory for the householder to have his household goods transferred from Philadelphia to New York or from New York to Boston by motor van than by rail. This is readily understood when it is realized that the trip can be made in one or two days, that no crating is necessary, and that there are only two handlings.

Throughout the United States there are hundreds of motor express companies operating regularly in inter-city service. One such company operates a fleet of thirty-two trucks on a daily schedule between New York and Philadelphia—a distance of more than one hundred miles. During the past winter one was organized to operate between Detroit and Toledo, sixty miles, and another between Chicago, Waukegan, Ill., and Gary, Indiana.

The Philadelphia company, in addition to its regular New York service, undertakes hauling to Pittsburgh, to Baltimore and Washington, and to cities in New England. The value of such highway freighting service is not often appreciated until an emergency arises. Innumerable instances have proved that it is sometimes the only way of making a shipment within the necessary time.

EMERGENCY USE OF TRUCKS

Delays in subway construction work in New York were avoided last winter by emergency use of motor trucks when it was impossible to get materials by rail. One shipment came by truck from Pittsburgh, two loads from Philadelphia, and another from Seymour, Connecticut, 93 miles. There were also a number of shipments by trucks over shorter distances. Material hauled included electrical equipment, cable and parts for subway cars.

About the first of the year an export shipment of 400,000 pounds of finished leather was trucked from Philadelphia to New York in one week. On another occasion 100,000 pounds of ammunition were hauled over the same route within a week, to meet the sailing date of an Allied munitions ship. Again, during the sugar shortage, ten full truck loads of refined sugar from the Philadelphia refineries were hurried to Manhattan to relieve the situation.

A Woonsocket (R. I.) haulage contractor has made trips with five-ton loads of machinery to Philadelphia during the past fall and winter, bringing back loads of wool. One

truck made the 632-mile round trip in 92 hours. Beginning in March, he planned to operate trucks in regular service between Boston and Philadelphia, the schedule calling for a round trip in five days, allowing one-day lay-over for unloading, mechanical attention to the truck, and reloading.

SEVERE WINTER TESTS

Complete shut-down of industrial plants has been avoided by a hurry-up shipment of necessary materials that could not be obtained by rail. A factory at Poughkeepsie on the Hudson has had to send its trucks to Buffalo, Cleveland, and even Detroit to bring back certain parts required in its product.

An industrial plant in Detroit was saved from complete stoppage by motor trucks last January. During the worst blizzard of the winter, when drifted snow was several feet deep and the temperature was sixteen degrees below zero, a five-ton truck hauled thirty tons of coal from a snow-bound railroad siding over a nine-mile route to the factory, in five trips. The following day it hauled forty-eight tons in eight trips, working from seven o'clock in the morning until midnight. All other means of delivery were demoralized by the storm and the plant was out of fuel.

These few examples serve to show how highway transport is saving the day for business concerns, and also to show ways in which motor trucks can be utilized by others, not only in emergencies, but as a regular means of delivery for distances up to one



MOTOR TRUCKS SERVING AS AUXILIARIES TO THE RAILROADS DURING THE RECENT SEVERE WINTER IN THE EASTERN STATES

hundred, two hundred or more miles, when embargoes or other circumstances prevent the movement of freight by rail.

STORE-DOOR DELIVERY PLAN

Another ambitious plan for utilizing motor trucks in a new way, suggested by the Highways Transport Committee, is the Store-door Delivery system. This is the organized use of trucks for the local collection and distribution of freight handled by the railroads and steamships. These great common carriers never have seen fit to make the collection and delivery of freight a part of their business, as the express companies have done. They have left it to the individual shipper and consignee to furnish or find his own trucking service. As a consequence, goods remain in cars or in the freight houses or piers, from one day to weeks in some cases, awaiting the convenience of the consignee to remove them.

Under the proposed plan, no truck or wagon bringing goods to a pier or freight house for shipment would be permitted to depart empty or only partially loaded. It would be required to take on a full load of goods consigned to stores or factories in the same zone or section of the city from which it came. Thus, each day's receipts of freight would be cleared away promptly, instead of waiting for the steamship or railroad company to mail an arrival notice to each consignee and for the latter to send a truck to get his shipment. It would further reduce the congestion of teams and trucks at the terminals and the interminable waiting time of these vehicles to get into the piers or to the freight-house doors.



ONE OF THE INTER-CITY EXPRESS TRUCKS EXTENSIVELY EMPLOYED IN NEW YORK STATE

NOT ENOUGH TRUCKS

In periods of great public emergency such as these, the principle of "the greatest good to the greatest number" must prevail, and the fortunate owner of a motor truck must expect to have it utilized to its fullest capacity in the public interest. He will benefit by it, however, since he will be allowed to make a reasonable charge for whatever hauling the truck does for others. The point is that, operated inefficiently as they have been, there are not nearly enough trucks in the country to take care of the enormous volume of short-haul freight and the local collection and delivery of shipments by rail and water.

There are hundreds of trucking and transfer companies in New York City using teams and motor trucks, but during the past winter they have all had more work than they could handle, and their rates have gone up to \$3 an hour or \$30 a day. Snow and cold weather have interfered with trucking, and at times a score or more trucking companies have been called on the telephone before one could be found that would take an order to move a five-ton load two or three miles.

Motor trucks are going to be in tremendous demand this year and for several years to come. Truck-manufacturing companies are working to capacity, but it is doubtful if they will be able to supply the market.

"FARM-TO-TABLE" MOVEMENT

The newest use of motor trucks, and one that is going to touch the largest number of people in the most intimate way, is in the parcel post service. The Post Office Department at Washington is establishing inter-city motor truck routes, with the primary object of providing farmers with a means for making direct shipments of produce to the cities. These routes range from 50 to 125 miles in length and will have daily service. It is intended that an uninterrupted chain of them shall extend from Portland, Maine, to New Orleans.

These "star" routes have already been surveyed, and the Post Office Department has advertised for bids for the operation of motor trucks over them.

Two other chains have been planned, one extending from Lynchburg, Va., to Hagerstown, Md., Pittsburgh, Columbus, and Indianapolis, and the other from Charleston, W. Va., to Columbus, O., Cincinnati, Louisville, Chattanooga, and Atlanta. The total length of these three chains is upward of 4000 miles.

Where bids are considered excessively high, the Government will buy and operate its own trucks. It is now operating government-owned trucks on the following routes:

Washington, D. C., to Leonardstown, Md., 54 miles.

Washington to Baltimore, —.

Baltimore to Philadelphia, 110 miles.

Baltimore to Gettysburg, 53 miles.

Annapolis to Solomons, Md., 56 miles.

Trucks operating over these star routes (which are routes over which mail is not handled under railroad contracts) will collect and deliver all classes of postal matter, including parcel post, at all post offices along the way. It is estimated by the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, who has supervision of the star routes, that to extend this system throughout the country would require in the neighborhood of 100,000 trucks.

As a part of its plans, the Post Office Department on March 15 increased the weight limit of parcel-post packages to seventy pounds for delivery within the first, second, and third zones, and to fifty pounds for delivery in all other zones. This is intended particularly to enable the producer to ship larger quantities of farm produce direct to consumers.

WILL INCREASE FOOD PRODUCTION

Addressing a meeting in Chicago on this subject, Mr. J. I. Blakslee, the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, said that in order to increase food production it was essential to give the producer some visible means of daily communication with the market. Hence this "Farm-to-table" movement was started. There are many productive sections in the country from which not a pound of produce is shipped to the cities, because they are remote from the railroads. What the movement means ultimately to the consumer is indicated by Mr. Blakslee's statement that under the present system of shipping by rail, fourteen handlings of eggs are required between the producer in Vineland, N. J., and the consumer in Philadelphia, while under the motor truck star route system these will be reduced to six. As every handling costs money, this will in time bring down the price of eggs and all other farm produce, resulting in a lowering of the cost of living.

Just as an example of what the Post Office can do with motor trucks, Mr. Blakslee said that during the past winter a truck route from Philadelphia to Oxford, Pa., had been operated on a 110-mile daily schedule without missing one trip.

GROWTH OF MOTOR TRUCKING

In the foregoing pages the broader aspects of motor trucking have been dealt with, and it requires only a little imagination and vision to see wherein the highways are becoming a tremendously vital factor in the transportation situation. What the future holds in store in the matter of motor trucking is indicated by a comparison of the traffic census taken on the State highways of Massachusetts in 1912 and 1915 by the State Highway Commission. In the former year the average number of motor trucks passing each of 156 stations per day was $11\frac{1}{2}$, while three years later the average at 192 checking stations was 38—an increase of 230 per cent., or more than 75 per cent. a year. Undoubtedly the increase has been much greater during the last two years. On roads running out of Boston, from fifteen to eighteen miles out, there were usually between thirty and seventy trucks a day in 1915.

The report of the New York State Highway Commission for 1915 states that records obtained by a careful study of the use of motor trucks and busses on improved State and country roads outside of cities and villages, showed that such traffic amounted to 14,734,680 miles during forty weeks (excluding twelve weeks in the winter) and a total ton-mileage of 60,216,520, including weight of vehicle. This would indicate that the trucks and busses moved a total of more than 15,000,000 tons a distance of one mile during the forty weeks.

TRUCKS FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES

Besides forcing the more extensive use of motor trucks, war has developed many special-purpose machines. There is the armored truck, with its machine gun, the searchlight truck that carries powerful searchlights and generates the current for them, and the tractor for hauling heavy artillery. But newer than these is a boot-and-shoe repair truck fully equipped with machinery for such work, power for operating the machinery being furnished by the truck engine. The American army is to be equipped with trucks assigned to the aviation section and fitted up for developing and printing photographs of enemy trenches and the country back of them, taken by photographers in airplanes. Observation balloons are transported on trucks, which have winches operated by the engine to haul the "sausages" down with a

cable. Recently an army dental truck was exhibited in front of the War Department in Washington. The body contained dentist's chairs and the usual paraphernalia that belongs to the profession. Secured to the side of the truck was a commodious khaki tent for waiting patients.

Probably the most unusual adaptation yet developed for army service is a bread-making truck. This carries an automatic machine, operated by the truck engine. It mixes the dough, molds any shape desired, cuts it into loaves of any predetermined size, and delivers them ready for baking. It has a capacity of 6,000 loaves an hour, and it is claimed that it will do work now requiring 112 men to perform. Traveling in company with an oven mounted on a truck, it can follow all movements of a regiment and furnish fresh bread every day to the soldiers in the field.

Almost innumerable are the applications of motor trucks to unusual civilian purposes. There is the glorified peddler's wagon in Los Angeles, from which fruit and vegetables are sold from door to door, and there are the motor snowplows that have kept open the "war roads" through the Pennsylvania mountains over which trains of army trucks have been brought from the Detroit factories to Atlantic ports for shipment to France.

AUXILIARY USE OF TRUCK ENGINE

Of peculiar advantage to various lines of work is the ability to use the truck engine as a portable power plant. Perhaps the most familiar example of this is the motor fire engine which runs to a fire under its own power and then drives the water pump with the motor. The same principle is employed in trucks used by the electric light and telephone companies for pumping water out of manholes, for drawing heavy cables through conduits under the street, and for erecting telephone or electric-light poles.

It is unnecessary to mention more of the special purposes to which the motor truck has been adapted in order to indicate the wide possibilities. Combining the facility for rapid and long-distance travel with the feasibility of using the engine as an auxiliary power plant, the motor truck obviously occupies a field between the railroad and horse-drawn vehicles that was formerly unfilled and in which there is much to be done and great opportunities for doing it.

SELECTING A MOTOR TRUCK

SO many factors are to be taken into consideration in making the purchase of a motor truck, or changing from horse-drawn to motor equipment, that the prospective buyer will be well advised to avail himself of expert advice that is obtainable for the asking. No matter how much he knows about hauling or delivery work with horses, he is not qualified to make a final decision regarding motor trucks or wagons unless he has had experience with them or has such a simple proposition that there is practically only one answer.

The careful purchaser will perhaps want to analyze his own problem as a preliminary, with all the facts regarding his particular business in front of him for study, and to familiarize himself with all the conditions that have to be met, as viewed from his inner knowledge of his trade.

Having done this and arrived at his own conclusions, perhaps, as to what kind and size of truck or delivery wagon is required, and how many, he should then invite the manufacturer of some make of truck, or the manufacturer's agent, to send a transportation engineer to make an independent investigation of his needs. All leading truck-makers, and their branch houses and principal dealers, have traffic experts or engineer-salesmen for this special work, and they are glad to make recommendations.

GET EXPERT ADVICE WITHOUT COST

As these men are engaged constantly in the study of traffic conditions and requirements in all lines of business and have an intimate knowledge of the capabilities and limitations of motor trucks and their operators, they can almost certainly save the prospective purchaser from making a serious and costly mistake in selection of equipment.

It is natural that the transportation engineer will be inclined to make recommendations in favor of the purchase of the make of trucks he represents; but beyond this predisposition his recommendations are likely to be unprejudiced. Many such experts are so honest and free from bias that they will tell a prospective purchaser that he does not need a motor truck in his business if investigation shows that no advantage or economy will be

gained by replacing horse equipment. However, the need for more and better transportation has become so imperative that cases in which one or more motor trucks cannot be used to advantage are rare.

If he seeks the advice of a man connected with a company that manufactures a full line of trucks and delivery wagons (from, say, 1000 or 1500 pounds to five tons capacity) and bearing a good reputation for performance and durability, the prospective truck user may feel confident that the engineer will recommend equipment of the best size and the correct number of units to do the required work most efficiently.

FACTORS TO CONSIDER

Every facility should be given the investigator to get full information concerning the customer's haulage or delivery needs, and the data from which the intending purchaser has made his own analysis should be placed in his hands. In all probability he will call for information and make suggestions on matters that have a bearing, but which have not occurred to the business man.

Among the more important items to be taken into consideration are the following:

1. Kinds and quantities of materials or goods to be hauled
2. Distribution area
3. Highway surfaces, grades, and climate
4. Frequency of delivery stops
5. Property values and rentals
6. Availability of electric charging facilities and comparative prices of current and gasoline
7. Manufacturer's service and repair stations
8. Loading and unloading facilities
9. Drivers and battery and engine experts
10. Dependence of business on railroad and steamship freight and express service.
11. City ordinances and State laws.

The importance of these points will vary according to circumstances and the nature of the prospective purchaser's business.

If the intending purchaser has a small retail store or shop, one light delivery wagon may suffice and many of the items can be ignored. If he maintains a large department store, he may need several large trucks to haul goods to outlying distribution depots and a corresponding number of light delivery wagons for house-to-house deliveries.

GASOLINE, OR ELECTRIC?

The question then is whether the vehicle should be of the gasoline or electric type. This involves consideration of distribution area, length of delivery routes, street-paving, grades, climate, electric recharging stations, property values, and battery experts. Excessive grades, streets that are unpaved or in bad condition, very long delivery routes, severe winters with heavy snowfalls, and high rentals in the neighborhood of the store are disadvantageous to the electric vehicle. A small delivery area, with short routes and many stops near together, makes the selection of a gasoline vehicle questionable. Where rentals are high it is desirable to locate the garage in a cheaper section that may be two or three miles from the store. The trips from garage to store cut down the mileage that can be made on delivery routes on one charge of the battery of an electric truck.

TYPES OF CHASSIS AND BODY

Should the intending purchaser be engaged in heavy manufacturing, and have but one delivery to make for each load, his conditions are entirely different. The size or weight of individual loads determines the capacity of the truck required, the length of chassis, and style and size of body needed. A machinery manufacturer will want a short chassis and strong, heavy platform or stake body, and will perhaps require a power winch operated by the motor of the truck.

A coal dealer, a gravel or sand company, or a road contractor should have a short chassis fitted with self-emptying steel or dump body. City ordinances requiring trucks to stand with wheels parallel with the curb may make a side chute obligatory for coal trucks. A box or barrel-maker needs a long chassis with large, roomy body.

"TRAILERS" AND REMOVABLE BODIES

Lumber dealers are likely to find an equipment of tractors and trailers most suitable and economical, as one trailer or more can be left in the yard to be loaded while the tractor is hauling a loaded trailer for delivery, thereby saving much waiting time for the tractor and driver. This is important, because it is most economical to keep the tractor or truck moving. Only while the truck is engaged in hauling is it saving or earning money. Overhead expenses remain constant whether the machine is idle or working. For this reason, loading and un-

loading facilities are an important factor in many lines of business. It is often possible to utilize removable bodies. These special types of vehicles and bodies and their adaptability to various lines of business are matters with which the traffic expert is familiar, but of which the merchant or manufacturer may have little or no knowledge.

NUMBER, SIZE, AND KIND OF TRUCKS

The number and size of trucks to be purchased depend upon the volume of business, frequency of deliveries, number of routes to be covered daily, and weight of load to be carried in one trip. Experience with horse-delivery service is not to be relied upon. A motor truck can make three or four trips to one by team, and it may serve the business better to have two medium-size machines than one heavy one. A change from horse equipment to motors may call for an entire rearrangement of routes and schedules.

If one's business depends much on receiving materials or goods by freight or express and on shipping by these methods, due consideration should be given to present and probable future unreliability of rail shipping. Many times the trucking facilities of a manufacturer or merchant may be called upon to make a long-distance trip to obtain materials necessary to keep a factory running or to make an urgent delivery when there is an embargo against shipping by rail. Character of the equipment is also to be considered in view of this contingency. An excessively heavy truck is not well suited for such work, particularly if it may have to operate over poor country roads. Furthermore, some State laws limit the gross weight of vehicle and load and also the weight per inch width of tire.

One should know something, too, about the company manufacturing the truck—its position as a factor in the industry, its reputation, quality of its product, length of time it has been in business, its financial condition, and the facilities it has in the purchaser's city for prompt and complete repair work and all the miscellaneous attentions to the customer's needs that are embraced in the broad and much-abused term "service."

It may be apparent from the foregoing that the wise selection of motor equipment is not a simple matter, and that it is desirable to secure the advice of a transportation engineer. Such advice costs nothing, and it does not put the recipient under obligation to make a purchase from his company.

COULD THE AIRPLANES FLY TO EUROPE?

BY ERNEST P. GOODRICH

[Mr. Goodrich is an accomplished consulting engineer of New York, widely known for his successful achievements, and whose expert knowledge of harbor improvements is now in the service of General Goethals and the Government. Knowing his belief that many hundreds of American aeroplanes could reach France through their own medium and under their own power, he has, at our request, sent us the accompanying memorandum. He does not intend to criticize the Government's policy, but to stimulate the spirit of American invention and initiative.—THE EDITOR.]

WHERE is the vaunted American initiative and inventive genius? To be sure Americans invented the submarine and the aeroplane and laid the foundation for the tank in the caterpillar tractor, but others have so far improved on these American ideas that the latter are almost unrecognizable now in their offspring. The creation of the Liberty Motor is almost up to American ideals of American efficiency and we pray that it will be satisfactory in the same degree. We have heard rumors of submarine listening devices, torpedoes that seek their mark by sound, and unsinkable ships.

For military reasons, perhaps, it is inadvisable that the details of these inventions should be made public. We are trying to build ships but almost without shipyards, materials or men. We should immediately transport to Europe more soldiers and supplies than the present fleets of the world can carry.

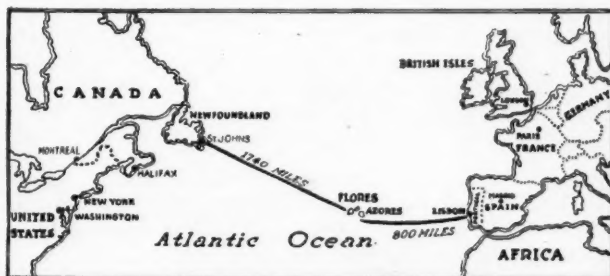
Why not undertake to make deliveries of some of these war necessities by other means? Why not train a corps of a thousand long distance air pilots and make deliveries of aeroplanes on the wing? Vessels are being convoyed; why not establish a boat patrolled route across the Atlantic from Newfoundland to the Azores, to Portugal, to France and send our machines through the air?

The long leg would be 1740 miles approximately from Newfoundland to Flores. This is admittedly about twice as far as the longest flight so far executed, and dangers would be involved to both pilot and machine; but this condition

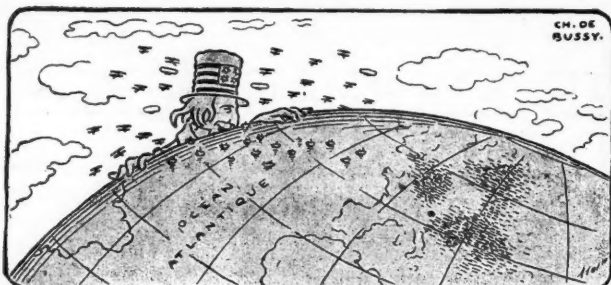
will exist in a much more exaggerated form upon their arrival and use in France. By equipping each machine with auxiliary gas tanks and a temporary set of pontoons, by sending them out in squadrons of fifty or so, operating on a schedule, several machines in each squadron equipped with wireless apparatus, with small naval craft similarly equipped cruising over set stretches of the course to pick up those which are forced to descend, it would seem that the airships might be delivered without encumbering ocean vessels with an extremely bulky variety of tonnage. It has been estimated that airships will occupy approximately five times as much space per ton as food or munitions.

The stops along the route must, of course, be equipped with wireless stations and small repair shops. The number of water craft to do patrol duty may also be rather large but they could doubtless be largely recruited from the naval forces of the South American allies. An added, but by no means slight, advantage is the fact that the air route would cross at a long angle the most densely used transatlantic steamship routes to Europe.

By no means the least of the advantages accruing to a successful accomplishment of



PROPOSED FLYING ROUTE TO EUROPE



UNCLE SAM: "PATIENCE: I AM COMING, WITH SHIPS AND AIRPLANES."

From *Pele-Mele* (Paris)

this scheme would be the speedy delivery of airplanes at the front. The temporary pontoons and pilots could be shipped back on board returning transports and the process repeated. Supply depots, weather observations relayed from one station to another, flying above the clouds, observers in several of the machines of the squadron to take hourly sun observations for assigned route and altitude so as to be able to correct the

hour non-stop flight? Is that too much to ask of American genius? After such a test the ocean crossing would be easy and a trip from Paris to Berlin and back a simple jaunt. The Signal Corps and the Aircraft Board have overcome superhuman obstacles already. Why not undertake to make their branch of the service absolutely self-sufficient by delivering the planes under their own power at the battle-front direct from America?

course for-wind drift, preliminary arrangements perfected, a few pilots working in relays, returning over each leg to guide each squadron from point to point—none of the details appear even questionable, to say nothing of being insurmountable.

Why should not American planes and American aviators be tested by successfully accomplishing a twenty-four-

AN AMERICAN DEFENSE POLICY

(A Letter to the Editor from an Eminent Naval Authority)

I HAVE read your recent numbers with interest and am in accord with your views—a big navy; superior air power; universal training; a small standing army; you are well aware of Switzerland's wonderful mobilization at the beginning of the war. With the same percentage of efficiency universal training will give the United States ten to twelve million trained soldiers immediately available in an emergency.

We are learning most valuable lessons in efficient use of our equipment, supply, and transportation resources, and doubt if ever again political considerations will be allowed to risk the Nation's safety by delaying vital measures of preparedness.

As you perhaps know, I am urging in every possible way superior air power for the United States. But pending the time when that air power will be more important

than our Navy and Army together, I am heart and soul in favor of a big and speedy navy.

I have been advocating in the strongest possible terms a large fleet of the swiftest and most powerfully armed battle cruisers afloat.

Lack of battle cruisers, and the policy that keeps our battleships slower than those of any other first-class power, are fatal defects in our Navy.

If I had the power I would write three new articles into our national creed: (1) Universal military training; (2) the United States the first air power in the world; (3) a two-ocean battle-cruiser fleet.

If the results of our participation in the world conflict shall be to make those three things permanent features of our national policy, it will be worth all it may cost us.

THE UNITED STATES SCHOOL GARDEN ARMY

BY HON. P. P. CLAXTON, COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION



THE BAR FOR MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES SCHOOL GARDEN ARMY

(Border blue, letters and stars red. A captain will be entitled to three stars, a first lieutenant two, a second lieutenant one, and a private none)

BECAUSE of the very great need of increase in the production of food in every way possible, this year and as long as the war and the days of reconstruction shall continue, the President has directed the Secretary of the Interior to conduct through the Bureau of Education a campaign for the promotion of school-directed home gardening throughout the country. The Bureau of Education is calling on all boys and girls throughout the country in cities, towns, suburban communities, and villages having a population of 200 or more, to join the United States School Garden Army for the campaign of 1918. It hopes to enlist five million boys and girls and forty thousand teacher-directors. The "draft" age is from nine to sixteen, but younger and older boys and girls and parents will be welcomed as volunteers.

Should this number enlist it will, I believe, be the largest boys-and-girls club in the world. If they all work diligently from now until the beginning of next winter and can have wise direction, they should produce without cost for transportation and handling, and without deterioration in the markets, not less than \$250,000,000 worth of food to be used where produced. This will give four million families of five persons each all the fresh vegetables they need through spring, summer, and fall, and half as much canned and dried vegetables as they will need through the winter. At the same time it will release millions of bushels of wheat and thousands of tons of pork and beef for ship-

ment across the seas to feed our soldiers and our allies.

In the promotion of this garden work the Bureau of Education has the approval and cooperation of the Department of Agriculture, the Food Administration, the Council of Defense, the Junior Red Cross, the National War Garden Commission (private), and other organizations.

To make this work effective, one teacher-director should be provided for every company of from 100 to 150 boys and girls. These teachers should assist the boys and girls of the company to find such places—back yards, side yards, or vacant lots, at or near their homes—as can be used for gardens. They should direct and help them in preparing the ground for planting, in selecting and planting seeds at the right time, in cultivating, and in harvesting, canning, drying and preserving vegetables produced. The teacher-directors should visit all the gardens under their direction at least once in two weeks, giving to the boys and girls such practical and individual help as may be needed. Once a week they should call together all the members of their company for general instruction and directions and to give them opportunity to tell of their difficulties and successes.

In all the larger cities it is expected there will be garden supervisors who will give general supervision and direction to the garden work and instruct and help the teacher-directors as may be needed. Boards of Education, Chambers of Commerce, Councils of Defense, Women's Clubs, and other patriotic bodies are asked to provide money necessary to pay the supervisors and to supplement the salaries of the teachers who assume the duties and responsibilities of teacher-directors. The supervisors of gardening or the superintendents of public schools will send to the Bureau of Education the names and addresses of all teacher-directors with statement of the number of boys and girls in each company of the School Garden Army, and this Bureau will

send to all teacher-directors and supervisors every two weeks directions and instructions specially suited to the climate and soil conditions of the sections in which they work, and will answer promptly all requests for specific instruction.

The boys and girls, teacher-directors, and supervisors in this Army will wear a bar with the letters U. S. S. G. on it, and I am sure they will be very proud of the fact that they are members of the United States School Garden Army and are doing their bit toward winning the war for freedom and democracy. Not only will they help to feed our own people at home, our soldiers abroad and our Allies, but many of them will be able to make money with which to buy War Savings Stamps and thus contribute their part to the large sums of money which the United

States must have to equip and pay its soldiers and buy supplies and munitions of war. Their teachers know now and they will later understand that in doing this work they are gaining for themselves physical health and strength and moral character, a knowledge of nature, and education of the very best kind.

To make this food production campaign as effective as possible there has been organized in the Bureau of Education a school and home garden division under the direction of Dr. J. H. Francis, Superintendent of Schools of Columbus, Ohio, who has obtained leave of absence for this purpose, and who will have the assistance of a group of expert gardeners from some of the best normal schools and agricultural colleges of the country.

INDIANA'S FARM PROBLEMS

BY WINTHROP E. STONE

(President of Purdue University)

INDIANA is making a great effort to increase food production, backed by an unusually effective organization through Purdue's Agricultural Department. We face,

however, difficulties—chief of which is insufficient man power. The constant depletion of rural labor in recent years has, of course, been greatly emphasized by war conditions; and now great numbers of farmers, who have the utmost desire to coöperate in the great movement for food production, are unable to do so because of this lack.

Another threatening obstacle has been the condition of the 1917 corn crop as affecting the supply of good seed corn for 1918. Prompt measures have been taken, however, in coöperation with the United States Department of Agriculture, to requisition all available seed corn of good quality and reserve it from the general market, for seed purposes.

There is a well-defined movement through the State to draw on school boys for assistance in farm work, and we are arranging to excuse many students from the University for that purpose, but these sources will not avail greatly to meet the need.

With every effort, I am quite certain that we shall not achieve anything like the results which would be possible were there sufficient labor to carry out present plans. These conditions, I think, are not confined to Indiana, but apply generally to all this middle west section.



UNCLE SAM CALLS UPON THE SCHOOL BOY IN THE NATION'S EMERGENCY
From the Tribune (New York)

OUR MEAT SUPPLY

[When the existence of a state of war with Germany was declared, just a year ago, this country found itself facing an "unsatisfactory situation"—to use the words of Secretary Houston—in respect to its food supply. The farmers made a generous and patriotic response, harvesting record crops of most products except wheat, and increasing the number of live stock. Valuable reports on last year's results have recently been published, and plans for the coming year have been formulated. In the first of the two brief articles we place before the reader official data from the Department of Agriculture, while in the second article we print a statement from a foremost representative of the live-stock industry.—THE EDITOR.]

I.—INCREASING LIVE-STOCK RESOURCES

THE achievements of last year furnish cause for congratulation and encouragement, but not for complacency or let-up this year—for the Department of Agriculture still holds that the situation is not satisfactory. Chief emphasis during the farm season now beginning is to be given to the production of the great staple food products, with special stress on wheat and hogs, the leading war foods.

Much has been said and written about wheat and other cereal crops, but the public is perhaps not so familiar with the meat situation. The supply of meats and of poultry had been somewhat larger in 1917 than in years immediately preceding, but the foreign demand was great and increasing.

The task of increasing the meat supply is a slow and difficult one. Hogs and poultry yield the quickest returns, and therefore urgent efforts were made by the Department of Agriculture to increase their production. At the same time, steps were taken to stimulate the production of beef and dairy cattle and to encourage the raising of sheep.

Figures now available reflect the value of the Department's activities. During the year 1917, the number of milch cows increased 390,000 or 1.7 per cent. "Other cattle" (steers, calves, and heifers) increased 1,857,000 or 4.5 per cent. Sheep increased 1,284,000 or 2.7 per cent, and swine 3,871,000, or 5.7 per cent. More than seven million meat animals were thus added to our food resources last year—at a time when meat-consumption reached unprecedented levels.

Pork constitutes more than one-half of all the meat products in the United States, and it is the mainstay of the ration of the laboring man and the soldier. The decrease in the number of hogs in Allied countries has

been very great, and is expected to continue at an accelerated rate. Our exports of pork products are now 60 per cent. larger than in the pre-war period, the increase consisting entirely of meat and principally of bacon.

The Department urges that the number of hogs should be increased by at least 15 per cent. during 1918. Conditions in each State have been carefully studied, and every farmer may know what increase in his region is feasible and desirable. Fortunately it is possible to increase the number of hogs very rapidly. In fact, hogs reproduce more quickly than any other meat animal, it being easily possible for brood sows to have each year two litters of five pigs each.

The Agricultural Department's annual census shows that, in contrast with other farm animals, sheep have decreased in number since 1914. Part of the loss was recovered last year. Encouragement of sheep raising will yield not only mutton but wool, imports of which have increased 48 per cent. in three years.

While the number of cattle, on the farms and ranges, increased 2,250,000 during 1917 (from 64,580,000 to 66,830,000), it must be borne in mind that we are still more than 5,000,000 short of the number available ten years ago. Our own needs have increased meanwhile—population growth being estimated at thirteen millions—and our exports of beef and beef products are nearly three times as large as previously.

The public little realizes the close relationship between the production of live stock and the supply of feedstuffs. Shortage of grains and forage, or high prices, will not only keep new production down but will cause premature slaughter of existing stock. Drought in Texas last fall caused the loss of thousands of beef cattle.

II.—BEEF PRODUCTION AND THE WAR

BY DWIGHT B. HEARD, OF ARIZONA

(Former President of the American National Live Stock Association)

AN adequate supply of beef will prove to be one of the greatest factors in winning this war, just as it has always been a prime factor in previous wars. The United States stands to-day as the one country with large supplies of cattle available for the use of its own forces and those of its Allies. Despite the deplorable shortage of ships we now are able to send meat in greatly increased quantities to Europe. Therefore, the question confronting us is—How to encourage and stimulate production.

I see no real danger of a beef famine, as has been predicted by some, if we take action promptly and with common sense. As a matter of fact, official figures of the Department of Agriculture, recently issued, show a decided gain in cattle in the United States during the past year. The figures are reassuring: Total cattle on farms and ranges, January 1, 1918, 66,830,000; on January 1, 1917, 64,583,000; or a gain of 2,247,000 animals.

Of the cattle on hand January 1, 1918, 43,546,000 were beef cattle—nearly 2,000,000 more than a year previously. This gain is despite enormous shipments of cattle to central markets during the past year. Receipts of cattle at the fifty-three central markets during 1917 exceeded those of 1916 by 4,687,062 head, or a gain of 26 per cent. The exact figures were as follows: During 1917, 22,239,628 head; 1916, 17,552,566.

Now that the shortage of ships for the movement of food to Europe has been relieved, our exports of beef are increasing enormously. In the first ten months of 1917, exports of fresh beef totaled 194,887,512 pounds—a gain over 1916 of 25 per cent. But in the following *three* months (December, 1917, and January and February, 1918), our shipment of fresh beef to the Allies alone aggregated 128,500,000 pounds.

In addition to this large and increasing export demand, Mr. Hoover reports a surprising increase in our national beef consumption per capita, probably due to increased wages in the great industrial centers.

These figures indicate not only the huge size of this problem but our need of an intelligent national live-stock program, which should be built up by combining a fine spirit

of patriotic service on the part of the producer with a sound knowledge of the economic conditions affecting the industry.

The present conditions confronting the live-stock industry, particularly those engaged in producing beef and mutton, are most unsatisfactory. There has been an abnormal increase in the price of the primary feeds for live-stock, without a proportionate increase in the price of the finished animals. The producer of beef in the feeding districts of the country, at the present market prices and with the present abnormal costs of feeds and labor, is in many cases losing money on his operations.

There also exists a deplorable shortage in transportation facilities, a lack of farm labor, and a material increase in the cost of such labor as is available. The difficulty in obtaining experienced farm labor is largely caused by the unscientific application of the draft last year, which situation promises to become more acute by further operation of the system.

The Food Administration—through its control of the purchase of export beef, coupled with its power over the packers through the licensing provision and control of their profits—is indirectly fixing live-stock prices to-day, which in many cases are unremunerative to the beef feeder and producer.

To win the war the producers of the country must be maintained on a prosperous basis. All waste in distribution must be eliminated, manipulation and speculation at the central markets stopped, and a plan outlined for reducing the present excessive costs in retail distribution.

A comprehensive live-stock policy would include the creation of a commission representing various branches of the live-stock industry, composed of men of practical experience and known patriotism. These men should be given definite power, in coöperation with representatives of the Department of Agriculture and the Food Administration, to investigate the present unsatisfactory situation and recommend constructive remedies. Such an investigation would include range conditions, prices for feeds and for live-stock products, labor remedies, and marketing and transportation questions.

THE NATIONAL NONPARTISAN LEAGUE

[Beginning in North Dakota as a movement of farmers, an association now calling itself the "National Nonpartisan League" is attracting wide attention in the fields of politics and economic legislation. We present herewith an article explaining and supporting the movement, and a briefer one from the standpoint of those who oppose it. Both articles are written by editors of ability and much experience. Mr. John Thompson was for eight years connected with the *New York Times*, and for an equal period the Managing Editor of *Pearson's Magazine*. He has recently gone to St. Paul and become actively connected with the Nonpartisan League. Mr. W. H. Hunter, who criticizes the League, is Managing Editor of the *Minneapolis Tribune*. He has had wide newspaper experience, having been Managing Editor of the *Washington (D. C.) Post*, and having held similarly important positions in a number of the leading newspaper offices of the Western cities. Mr. Hunter is honest in opposing the Nonpartisan League as dangerous and reckless in its socialistic program, while Mr. Thompson is honestly supporting it as a beneficent movement.—THE EDITOR.]

I.—THE LEAGUE'S WORK IN THE NORTHWEST

BY JOHN THOMPSON

THE Nonpartisan League was formed in North Dakota in the spring of 1915. The grain buyers had instituted and controlled a marketing system of great injustice to the farmers. The politicians, controlling the State machinery, had refused to permit the votes of the people to change the system. The league was formed to overcome these things and to give to the farmers of the States fair marketing facilities.

ABUSES IN GRADING AND DOCKAGE

The principal product of North Dakota is wheat. Wheat for selling is classed into grades. The grading for North Dakota and for the whole Northwest had been done by the grain exchanges—in short, by the buyers. It has been shown that between September, 1910, and August, 1912, the terminal elevators at Minneapolis received 15,571,575 bushels of No. 1 Northern Wheat, and that during the same period these same elevators shipped out 19,978,777 bushels of the same grade. The elevators had no wheat of this grade at the beginning of the period, but they did have 114,454 bushels at the end.

During the same period these elevators received 20,413,584 bushels of No. 2 Northern, and shipped out 22,242,410 bushels.

Thus the elevators shipped out more than 6,000,000 bushels of the two higher grades, Nos. 1 and 2, for which they never paid the price for those grades. What happened

is this: The elevators graded the farmers' wheat down to 3 and 4 when they were buying it; when they were selling it, more than 6,000,000 bushels that had been bought as 3 and 4 were sold as 1 and 2. The lower grades brought prices from 2 to 12 cents per bushel less than the higher grades. On examination, statistics show similar results in other years.

Dockage in grain is another effective way in which the farmers were robbed of their crops. There has been a dockage valuation of \$30 and \$35 on every 1000 bushels of wheat. The farmer pays the freight; and it has been shown before a Minnesota Legislative Committee that for more than ten years a freightage overcharge totaling about \$5000 a month has been collected as switching charges. In short, grading and dockage had cost the farmers of North Dakota alone millions of dollars every year.

TO NORTH DAKOTA FARMERS: "GO HOME AND SLOP THE PIGS!"

The farmers of North Dakota thought that the public ownership of elevators would help them to get fair marketing facilities. They tried for ten years through ordinary political channels to get the State to build elevators. Twice the State legislature, under the pressure of the farmers, instituted amendments to the constitution permitting the State to build elevators.

Twice the people of the State, by an enormous majority each time, confirmed the proposed amendment. Twice the machinery of the State government refused to obey the people's will. The last refusal was during the legislative session of 1915. Hundreds of farmers went to the State Capitol in an effort to impress upon the lawmakers the sentiment of the people of the State. They were told to "go home and slop the pigs." The politicians said that they knew what was good for the farmer—he didn't; let him do what he knew how to do—"slop the pigs."

A LEAGUE WITHOUT "POLITICS"

Then A. C. Townley suggested that the farmers take control of the State machinery—they being the majority of the people of the State. He suggested that the farmers organize themselves into a league without political partisanship, for the purpose of taking control of the State machinery. They organized the Nonpartisan League of North Dakota. At the following election the league cast 87,000 out of about 110,000 votes. It elected every State officer except one. It elected a majority of the Legislature. The farmers of North Dakota are now in a fair way to get proper marketing facilities.

The injustice in marketing farm products does not apply to North Dakota only. It applies to every State in the Union. In North Dakota, it is a matter of wheat; in Texas, it is a matter of cotton. In each of these States, and in every other State, the price of the farmers' products is fixed by the buyers. In no State is the farmers' cost considered. It is the buyer's business to buy as cheaply as he can, and he does it. The problem for the producer is always the same.

ORGANIZATION IN THIRTEEN STATES

The producers in neighboring States, observing what North Dakota had done, decided to do the same thing. They asked Mr. Townley and the men who had organized the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota to organize in their States. So the idea spread. The Nonpartisan League of North Dakota became the National Nonpartisan League. It is organized, or is organizing, in thirteen States—Minnesota, North Dakota, Wisconsin, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Colorado, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas.

The method of organizing the league is to send men from farmer to farmer, who

explain to them the purpose of the league. Before the farmer joins he understands its whole purpose. When he understands the purpose he joins. He sees where it benefits him. This comprehension by the farmer of just what the organization means to do is the precise reason why the political opponents of the league can have no influence upon the farmer after he has joined. The farmer knows what he has done, and he knows why he has done it. He is fortified against the fallacious arguments of partisan politicians.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP THE CORNERSTONE

The basis of the league idea is public ownership. Public ownership of public necessities will mean fair marketing facilities for the producer. It will mean fair purchasing facilities for the consumer. The purpose of a man handling farm products on their way from the field to the table is to make money. The products are handled by various men and each man makes his profit. Some of these men are entirely unnecessary to proper distribution.

The league's plan is for the public—the State—to build, own, and control the facilities for carrying products of the farm to the city, at the cost of carrying it. The purpose of these State-owned facilities will be to store and transform raw food into eatable food, at the cost of the transformation. Thus the great spread between the price the producer gets and the price the consumer pays will be reduced. Undoubtedly the producer of the raw food will get more for his product. He should get more. He must get more. He must get enough to make farming profitable, or he must quit farming.

Transforming raw food into eatable food at cost, eliminating all useless handling and useless profits, certainly means that the eatable food reaches the consumer at a lower price than it now reaches him. The same process, when applied to the products of the city worker, means that the farmer will buy his supplies at lower prices than he now pays. Neither the city worker nor the farm worker will have to pay the profit upon profit that he now pays for so many useless handlings. The thing is perfectly simple. It is so simple that the political opponents of the league do not attack it.

LEADERS ATTACKED FOR "DISLOYALTY"

Politicians, of course, do attack the National Nonpartisan League. They see that

the league is about to take control of States other than North Dakota. They do not like this. They see that they cannot break down the league's principles. They have to break the league down in some way, however, or they will cease to control. So they attack its leaders. They call them names. They say they are "crooks" and "Socialists." They have even charged the league with being disloyal to the United States Government. The charge seems to have been founded on certain thoughts expressed last spring by league men as to the conduct of the war. These are the thoughts:

Profiteering should be eliminated.

When the price of wheat was fixed it was urged that the price of all necessary commodities be fixed in proportion.

It was urged that a definite statement of war aims be made, and what those aims should be was suggested.

It was urged that the principles of man conscription be applied to wealth; that the war be financed, first, from the pockets of the men best able to spare the money.

REALLY WITH PRESIDENT WILSON

Now, observe:

The national government is doing all that it can do to eliminate profiteering.

It is also urging upon Congress that prices be fixed on all necessary commodities.

The President has stated our war aims, and his statement does not differ materially from the aims suggested by the league.

Thus, three of the four thoughts for which league men have been called disloyal are also the thoughts of the national Administration. The fourth, wealth conscription, has been urged by many prominent men who have not been called disloyal. The fact is that in the matter of the war the National Nonpartisan League stands squarely with President Wilson.

THE NORTH DAKOTA PROGRAM

The accomplishments of the league in a political way have been the capture and control of the State of North Dakota. The main program of the league for North Dakota—State-built elevators and flour mills—has not yet been accomplished, because at the last election twenty-four State Senators were not up for election. At the legislative session these twenty-four hold-over Senators succeeded in preventing amendments to the State constitution that would have permitted the State to build elevators and flour mills at once. These twenty-four hold-over Sen-

ators will be up for election in November. They will not hold over. At the same election the necessary amendments to the Constitution will be initiated by the people.

Much legislation, however, beneficial to the State was enacted. Executive acts of the State officers have been of even more benefit. Economic accomplishments have resulted entirely from political accomplishments.

A grain-grading commission has been formed. Rural schools have been standardized. Rural schools have been given better teachers. They are having better attendance and better health.

An inheritance tax was levied on large fortunes.

Votes were given to women.

Money was appropriated for experiments at the Agricultural College, by which it has been proven that low-grade wheat selling at 70 cents per bushel was worth, for making flour, pound for pound, as much as high grades selling at \$1.70 per bushel.

New taxation classifications were adopted, which reduced the rate for improvements upon farm lands and passed part of the burden of taxation on to the corporations that had been dodging taxation since the beginning of time.

A dairy commission was provided.

A license system for creameries was established.

Guarantee of bank deposits was provided for.

A welfare commission was created.

In all, thirty-two remedial steps were taken for the benefit of the people of the State. Briefly, it is estimated that each farmer has saved, under the present State management, from \$800 to \$1000.

THE NATIONAL PROGRAM

The National Nonpartisan League, or some other organization embodying the ideas that are its basis, will control the United States. There is no way to stop it, for the simple reason that people cannot be prevented from thinking. As people think they see the justice of the thing and what it means to themselves. As they see that, they adopt it. The war is making people think faster than ever. If public ownership and control is good for a nation at war, it is good for a nation at peace. The people see that public ownership of public necessities is an absolute requirement of a life scheme that will give to each man a chance to live healthfully, properly to educate his children, and to have some of the little enjoyments of life.

To that end the National Nonpartisan League will have candidates for State and national office in those States in which organization has reached the point where the members want to endorse candidates. Indi-

cations seem to point to the election of from fifteen to twenty Congressmen this year.

The most significant indication observed at the office of the National Nonpartisan League at this time is the great interest in the movement shown by the people in States in which the League has made no effort to organize. In the national headquarters hundreds of letters are received every day asking for information. These letters do not all come from farmers. The fact is that the greater part of them are now coming from industrial centers. The industrial worker sees that the league's plan for providing proper marketing facilities will benefit him just as much as it does those who produce the food.

Experience has shown that little benefit for the common people can be obtained except through control of political machinery. This principle applies to the national government just as it does to State government. The national Congress has taken more steps for the protection and interests of business en-

terprises than it has for the protection and interests of the majority of the people. This is due largely to the fact that business enterprises have control of political power. The men who have been elected have felt in some measure that they owed their election to business enterprises. A man naturally will respect the interests of the person to whom he owes his position.

The National Nonpartisan League is now composed of farm workers. Industrial workers are showing an intense interest in it. These workers form the majority of the people of the United States. The political coalition of these workers means political power for them. They will send men to Washington who owe their election to them. These office-holders will respond to the interests of those who sent them to Washington. The result will be legislation beneficial to the majority instead of to the few. It cannot be otherwise. That is the broad purpose of the National Nonpartisan League.

II.—WHY THE LEAGUE IS OPPOSED

BY W. H. HUNTER

THE cardinal count in the indictment against the National Nonpartisan League, on which its managers and promoters are seeking a verdict of "not guilty" by a jury of the public, is disloyal leadership.

Political leaders of the League, than whom the country has produced no shrewder or more resourceful, are contending that the farmer is down-trodden and oppressed, that every man's hand is against him and that for his own salvation his hand must be against every man. They have sought to embitter the farmer against bankers, grain-dealers, elevator-operators and millers and to ally the laboring men of the cities with the farmer by the contention that this is "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight," that while the farmers and laboring men are bearing the brunt of the fighting, the manufacturers and business men generally are piling up wealth, through munitions-making and profiteering.

It is ostensibly to protect the farmers against this kind of oppression that the National Nonpartisan League has organized in a half-dozen States in which farmers are in the majority, and the fallacy of the contention is plain on the face of it. The farmers are in a healthy majority in North Dakota,

South Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, Montana, and in every State in which the League is active. The history of these States, from the days of the Ocala platform down to the last election, shows that the farmers have never failed to have their rights recognized and their wrongs redressed by legislative action. They are and have always been in the majority in these States, and the claims of the League leaders to-day assume the form of a plea by the majority to be protected from the wiles and machinations of a wicked minority.

The cuttlefish when attacked sheds ink to becloud the waters and elude pursuit. The League leaders are playing the rôle of political cuttlefish just now and trying to becloud the political waters by claiming that the wicked interests are trying to prevent the farmers from organizing. There is not and has not been anywhere in Minnesota or the Dakotas the slightest opposition to farmers' organizations. The opposition to the Nonpartisan League, an opposition that in Minnesota is assuming menacing form, is caused, not by the organization of farmers, but by the secret or open disloyalty of leaders of the League. The line is being closely drawn in Minnesota between the loyalists

and the disloyalists, and no less a person than the Governor of the State, J. A. A. Burnquist, elected by farmers' votes and by the largest majority ever given a Governor of the State, has openly placed the leaders of the National Nonpartisan League in the disloyal class. The president of the League is under indictment in two Minnesota counties for obstructing the draft. The manager of the League has been convicted of a like offense, and other organizers and representatives of the League have been charged with obstructing the draft.

BUSINESS INTERESTS SCENT SOCIALISM

It is true that the business interests, both big and little, of the Northwest are opposed to the Nonpartisan League and fear it. This opposition and fear are based on the League's record in North Dakota, where only the existence of a hold-over State Senate, not elected by the League, prevented North Dakota from going "whole hog" into the experiment of a Socialistic State government. The League attempted to adopt a new constitution for North Dakota by act of the legislature, instead of by vote of the people. It proposed to remove the limit of indebtedness that might be incurred by the State or any political division thereof. It proposed to exempt farm improvements from taxation and to authorize the issue of currency by State banks. It proposed State ownership of flour mills, terminal elevators, railroads, packing houses and to allow the State to engage in any and all forms of business and industry. It proposed that "three bona fide farmers" should be elected to the Supreme Court of the State. It proposed State socialism on a scale never before attempted in this country and never attempted anywhere except quite recently by Lenine and Trotzky in Russia.

Objection has been offered, also, by the business interests against the plan of a chain of coöperative stores and banks, proposed by the League leaders and for which more than \$1,000,000 have been subscribed by the farmers who have no voice in the control of these enterprises, no share of the dividends and no control of the funds, but who have the privilege of trading at such stores "at cost, plus 10 per cent," for cash. The League is opposed also because its leaders are avowed Socialists and in favor of applying the most radical Socialistic theories to the government of the States in which they secure control.

April—5

SOME OF THE DEMANDS REASONABLE

But these questions can be fought out in peace times, just as the fallacies of the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist party were rejected and the meritorious measures adopted by the legislatures of those days. No one contends that all of the claims of the Nonpartisan League are unjustified. Some of them are just and must be recognized by legislative action. The difficulty with the farmer to-day is that, because of the abolition of party lines through the nonpartisan primary laws, in force throughout the Northwest, he feels the lack of leadership, the need of an organization through which to make his appeals and demands for legislative action. With every politician for himself, no responsibility anywhere, the farmer, who is naturally a conservative, is forced to turn to radical leaders who want to lead him into the mire of Socialism.

"POOR TRAY"

Keep this honest farmer in mind; see into what company he is drawn when he rallies to the standard of the National Nonpartisan League. Hundreds of meetings called by that organization in Minnesota have been suppressed and the organization has been barred from holding meetings in many counties because the sheriffs and loyal citizens have become convinced that such meetings, if permitted, would end in riot and bloodshed. This is not at the dictation of "Big Business." These meetings have been banned by the sheriffs and other peace officers elected by the votes of farmers, by men who know their neighbors and know where they stand on war questions. The meetings have been banned because whenever one has been permitted, it has served as a rallying center for professional pacifists, every pro-German for miles around, for I. W. W. preachers of sabotage and for Socialist spellbinders openly opposing the draft. These same Socialists, who have been active in helping the League leaders, have nominated for Governor of Minnesota a man who has been convicted for obstructing the draft and a candidate for State Senator who is under conviction for seditious utterances, and they were nominated on a platform which demanded the repeal of the draft act, endorsed the Russian Bolsheviks, expressed sympathy and support for the I. W. W. leaders under indictment at Chicago, and demanded the immediate withdrawal of our forces from France.



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BRITISH TROOPS UNDER GENERAL MAUDE ENTERING BAGDAD IN MARCH, 1917

THE GLORIOUS CITY OF BAGDAD

A STORY OF NINE THOUSAND YEARS

BY JOHN P. PETERS, PH.D., SC.D., D.D.

"THE Glorious City"—this is the official designation of Bagdad on all Turkish documents. Bagdad is glorious, however, only by reflection from the past. The houses of the present town are crude constructions of brick, mostly from ancient ruins, and adobe; living is primitive; sanitation is non-existent; the streets, or rather lanes, so narrow at times that one beast of burden fills the whole space from blank wall to blank wall, are sewers and rubbish heaps, and the reservoir for water supply is the Tigris River, which divides the city into two parts, just where all the filth of the city's lanes pours into it. In the business sections, the bazaars, the streets are roofed over with rude screens of palm logs covered with mats and reeds, as a protection against the burning heat of the summer sun.

The houses are provided with *serdabs*, a sort of cellar, for household resort during day-time in the long summer months, and where there is no *serdab*, with mats of thorny shrubs to hang before the windows and keep drenched with water. At that season the whole town sleeps and eats on the roof, and the main, middle floor of the houses, above the *serdab* and below the roof, is practically unused. The heat of summer is intense, and everything is constructed to alleviate its discomfort, consequently one suffers miserably during the brief rainy period from the cold and damp at home and abroad. The death-rate is enormous, cholera and the bubonic plague are more or less endemic, and everyone is marked somewhere with the "Bagdad date mark," the scar of a boil of unknown cause, which generally attacks

the stranger above, the native below the neck.

There is no architecture at Bagdad and few relics of antiquity. The remains of a quay on the river bank contain bricks bearing the stamp of Nebuchadrezzar; on the outskirts of the western town is shown a pineapple-topped tomb said, not quite correctly, to be the tomb of Zobeide, the favorite wife of Harun-er Rashid; there are old tiles and faience in a few of the mosques, and parts of the old walls, also of brick and adobe, still exist.

How many people live in Bagdad no one knows. Estimates vary from 70,000 to 200,000, favoring the latter. Of this population, about one-fourth may be Jews, descendants of the Captivity, who through all these long centuries have played an important part in the economic life of that country, and during many of them a predominant part in the religious and cultural life of Jewry the world over. Less than one-tenth of the population are Christians, Armenian, Syrian, Chaldaean or Roman, and the remainder Moslems. Of these the great bulk are Shiites, who hold with the Persians, and hate the Sunnite Turks almost as much as and sometimes more than they hate the Christians, which is saying a good deal.

The Sunnites, be it said, are those who hold to the Koran plus tradition, corresponding in this respect to the Pharisees among the Jews of old. These constitute the majority of the adherents of Islam to-day, and hence are orthodox. The Shiites, whose special home is Persia, reject tradition, and the orthodox caliphate, adhering to Mohammed's adopted son, Ali, and his descendants, as Mohammed's heirs and successors. In the matter of clean and unclean they are more rigid than the Sunnites, so that even the cup or jar which a Christian has touched must be broken; but doctrinally they are less rigid, and especially when they are tainted with pantheism and hold to incarnations of deity.

The language of Bagdad, as practically of all parts of the Turkish Empire, present and past, Asiatic and African, south of the mountains of Asia Minor, is Arabic. Like Damascus, at the other edge of the desert, only much more so, Bagdad is the capital of a large territory inhabited by wild Arabs, partly *bedouin*, who dwell in tents and move freely from place to place, and partly *ma'dan*, most primitive soil tillers, who live in reed huts clustered about the mud castle of a petty chief. To both of these Bagdad seems the incarnation of splendor and luxury,



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THE PRINCIPAL STREET OF BAGDAD

(The buildings at the right are the old Governor's residence, the city building, and the police headquarters)

which they openly condemn and secretly covet; while the proud townsman of Bagdad despises them as uncouth barbarians, at the same time that he fears them.

To appreciate Bagdad one must come to it as these Arabs do, and as I have done, out of the desert. How beautiful it seems as you see it in the distance, a mass of verdant palm trees rising out of the treeless plain, and glittering above these the wonderful gold domes of the mosque tombs in the sacred and fanatical suburb of Kazemain!

Bagdad straddles the Tigris at the point where that river and the Euphrates most nearly approach, opposite a natural caravan route up the Diyala River, which joins the Tigris at this point, through the Zagros or Pushti-Kly mountains to Kermanshah, and Hamadan in Persia, and so on to Central Asia. Commanding both the river route southward to the Persian Gulf, and the caravan routes northward up the Tigris to Asia Minor and the Black Sea, and westward up the Euphrates to Syria and the Mediterranean, as well as the road eastward to Persia and Central Asia, this general locality is the natural site of a capital.

Immediately north and northwest of

Bagdad lies the stone-bottomed steppe through which the rivers force their way in narrow beds; below it southward all is alluvial deposit to the Persian Gulf. This alluvial plain, the ancient Babylonia, now known as Irak, more than four hundred miles in length and almost half as broad, between the lofty Persian Mountains and the low, stony plain of the Arabian Desert, with the adjoining alluvial plain of Arabistan, in Persia, is of great potential agricultural and industrial value. The former is a deposit from Asia Minor of the mighty rivers Euphrates and Tigris, the latter of the smaller and less famous rivers Kerkhah and Karun from the Persian Mountains, all four uniting and emptying into the Persian Gulf (filling it up at the rate of 100 feet a year) in one channel, known as the Shatt-el-Arab, on which is situated the town of Bosra, the port of Bagdad.

IRAK, OR BABYLONIA

Irak is an absolutely flat plain of river mud, without a hill, or a stone larger than a pigeon's egg, depending for its fertility on the floods of the Euphrates and Tigris. At or shortly after the close of the rainy season, in April, these two rivers begin to rise, reaching highest flood in June, at which time Bagdad is an island protected by dykes; the Tigris is a chain of lakes; much of the land along the Euphrates is under water, and the rest of the country is turned into swamps and morasses. In days gone by these floods were restrained by dykes and dams, the surplus water was collected and held in reservoirs, and the rivers were distributed and controlled by a vast system of canals. Now the floods do rather more harm than good, inundating and destroying, then receding to leave a baked and burning wilderness of cracked mud behind.

In former times the floods were streams of life, watering the land and fertilizing it continually with new deposits, so that, as Herodotus tells us, the ground produced yearly three crops of wheat. It was a land peculiarly blessed, especially from the standpoint of earlier culture. Wheat and the date palm were indigenous, and bricks for building houses were formed and baked by nature almost without man's intervention. Nature even furnished cement in the form of bitumen springs along the edges of the valley. She was a kindergartner also, suggesting to her children not only the manufacture of bricks to build houses, but also of tablets

of clay to draw and, ultimately, to write on. All that was needed to make it a paradise of fertility was to control the river floods, and by a system of canalization distribute the water over the entire region.

Babylonia was one of the earliest and greatest of the world's centers of civilization, and one which has affected most profoundly our own civilization. The earliest Babylonian cities of which we have knowledge date back to about 7000 B. C. Our earliest written records, in a very complicated but already well-developed wedge-shaped script, on clay tablets, and occasionally on stone imported for votive offerings, date from about 3500 B. C. From that time on until almost the beginning of the Christian era we have hundreds of thousands of inscribed clay tablets and other objects, dug out of a dozen or two of the ancient cities of Babylonia and Assyria, recording the economical, social, and political history of the people; not merely books and inscriptions, but records of every sort, deeds, wills, court archives, business archives, temple archives, letters, liturgies, school books and school exercises, and much more, giving us often a more minute picture of the daily life of those extremely primitive times than we possess of the daily life of classical Greece and Rome.

As the rivers were brought more and more into control and harnessed to human needs, the country became enormously wealthy and populous, comparable to, if not exceeding Holland in both the abundance of its canals and the density of its population. One sees everywhere to-day the traces of canals by the thousands, dry beds running hither and thither, the remains of dykes and dams stretching in lines, like miniature mountain chains, in every direction as far as the eye can reach. Innumerable hills and hummocks mark the sites of ancient towns and cities. Mount one of a goodly height and you can see literally hundreds of others dotting the plain on all sides. At first glance they look like natural hills, but on examination you find that they are ruin mounds (*tels*).

Some, like the mounds of Babylon, greatest of all, or Nippur, explored by Americans, the most ancient and honored seat of religion and learning before Babylon rose to power, or Erech, local home of the epic of Gilgamesh, earliest of all epics, one of whose twelve books contains the story of the Flood, are great complexes of mounds several miles in circumference, and rising 100 feet or so

above the surface of the plain; the majority are quite insignificant in appearance, often looking, from the distance, like mere bumps or inequalities of the surface.

At places the plain itself is strewn for miles with fragments of pottery and other evidences of human habitation. This is true especially of the region about Babylon, where almost every foot of soil bears on its surface some token of the past—a testimony to the enormous prosperity and the intensive culture of that region, called by the Babylonians Eden, from which the Jews derived at least the local color for their Eden. Wherever you dig below the surface throughout ancient Babylonia you will find relics of antiquity, and every mound, even the most insignificant, yields inscribed tablets in apparently inexhaustible numbers. Sometimes we found these in great collections, the archives of departments of the temple, lists of employees and their pay, reports and receipts from the shepherds and herdsmen, or the text and exercise books of the temple school, with copies of psalms and hymns. Sometimes we found them singly, buried under the floor of a house or interred with the dead. Sometimes we found inscribed objects in an early, theretofore unknown tongue of the fourth millennium B. C.; sometimes we found in a Jewish settlement of the sixth or seventh century A. D., under the thresholds of its doorways, as a protection against evil spirits, bowls with magical incantations. It was a civilization and culture of clay, not stone; of learning and records, not art.

Very little work in stone has been found in Babylonia, where all stone, even pebbles, must be imported; and there were no buildings of stone, hence there are no artistic and monumental remains above the surface. Generally, as stated, the mounds which cover the ancient towns look like nothing else than hills of clay; only rarely do they suggest a building. The remains of the stage tower, or pyramid, of the temple of Sin, the moon god, at Ur, now called Mughair, place of pitch, do indicate their character. Still more striking is the tower of the temple of Nebo at Borsippa, close to Babylon, a high conical mound, surmounted by a huge cleft peak of glazed brick, looking as though it had been struck by lightning, split in two and fused into one solid mass. This tower it is, by the way, which stands behind the Hebrew story of the Tower of Babel or Babylon. Most striking of all visible remains of Irak is the throne room of the great white palace

of the Persian king, Chosroes (590-628 A. D.), at Ctesiphon, fifteen miles south of Bagdad, where the British were defeated in their first advance against that city.

If excavations in Babylonia, conducted in a few places only, under great difficulties because of the inaccessibility of the sites to be explored, the absence of facilities for transport and sustenance, the lack of labor, the dangers from savages and sickness, and, above all, because of the corruption, ignorance and obstructiveness of the Turkish authorities, have resulted in such wonderful discoveries, opening up the knowledge of a civilized past theretofore undreamed of, what discoveries may we not expect when British enterprise and good government render exploration everywhere safe and easy as in Egypt, and at the same time the ancient ruins are protected from spoliation?

BABYLON AND BAGDAD

We now know the history of civilization in Babylonia after a fashion from 7000 B. C., or thereabouts. From 3500 or a little earlier we are able to call with strange names cities in various parts of the Babylonian valley, and their kings, who warred with one another, made incursions as far as Asia Minor and the Mediterranean, and resisted or succumbed to invasions and raids from Elam, Arabia, or the north; but it is not until the establishment of the empire of the city of Babylon, about 2000 B. C., that this history becomes what we may call world history and enters the sphere of thought of the ordinary man.

At that time a certain Hammurabi or Hammurapi, Amraphel of the Bible (Gen. 14), where he is represented as contemporary with Abraham, drove out the conquering Elamites, made the land safe and peaceful, built and repaired canals and dykes, promoted learning, established a just and universal code of laws, united the various Babylonian states under Babylon and its god Marduk—in fact, played in a way the part which Alfred played for England, or, perhaps better, that which Gregory played for Rome. From that time on for 1700 years Babylon was the greatest city of the world, the capital of its commerce, its learning, and its religion, even when not its political capital. It reached the climax of its splendor, wealth, and power under Nebuchadrezzar, in the sixth century B. C., when Greece was in its infancy.

Three hundred years later, in 323 B. C., the great Greek conqueror of Asia, Alexander, died in Babylon, and his successors, the

better to control their vast eastern empire, transferred the capital from the Euphrates to the Tigris. There, fifteen miles south of the present Bagdad, they built from the bricks of Babylon Seleucia, said in the time of its prosperity to have had a population of 600,000. A hundred and sixty years the Greeks ruled the land, then the rude Parthians gained the supremacy, and transferred their capital still a step farther eastward to Ctesiphon, across the Tigris from Seleucia, using old Nebuchadrezzar's bricks to build it.

The Parthian rule was a time of retrogression; but with the establishment of the Sassanian, or second Persian empire, in 226 A. D., a new period of prosperity set in. The Arab chroniclers tell us of the wonderful wealth of the country after four hundred years of Persian rule, at the time of the Mohammedan conquest, in 636 A. D., when Irak was truly a garden of the Lord; and especially they tell of the magnificence of the great white palace of Chosroes, and the marvelous rug which carpeted its throne room, "120 ells long and 60 broad, representing a paradise or garden; the flowers, fruits, and shrubs done in gold embroidery and precious stones. The city was so wealthy at that time, that, out of the spoil, Saad is said to have distributed \$1500 to each of his 60,000 soldiers."

In the century following the Arab conquest, Irak became the center of Moslem empire, and in 762 the Abbasid caliph, Mansur, built as his capital Bagdad, fifteen miles north of Ctesiphon, or rather he rebuilt the ancient Babylonian city of Bagdadu, of which we have records going back to at least 2000 B. C. That also was a period of great prosperity for Irak, and the time when Bagdad was truly glorious, a city of 2,000,000 people, the largest city in the world, geographically the center of the universe, preëminent in literature, art, and science, the religious capital of Islam, and also of Jewry, for the schools of the Jewish Captivity were transferred thither from Pumbeditha. New cities sprang up everywhere, such as Kufa and Wasit and Bosra, and the accounts of the Arabic geographers show us that the ancient system of canalization was maintained and enlarged. Those were the days of the Arabian Nights, and of the famous Harun-er-Hashid. But Bagdad's wealth betrayed it. First came the Turkish guards; then the caliphs became their puppets. Then the Mongols under Hulagu, Jenghiz Khan's grandson, took and

sacked it, in 1258. So ended the glory of Bagdad, 660 years ago. After that for 250 years the country was plundered and robbed by Mongols and Tartars. Then it was fought over, harried, and possessed by Persian and Turk alternately for another century and over. Since 1638 it has been a part, nominally at times, of the empire of the Turks, who, by their ignorance and neglect, have completed the destruction of its waterways and made the land a desert.

Under good government, such as the English have given Egypt, it is bound to become again one of the garden spots of the earth, for it is the land of dates and luscious fruits, of wheat and rice and cotton and sugar; its steppes breed horses and asses and sheep; and along its borders on either side exist abundant supplies of bitumen, naphtha, and petroleum. It is verily a land to be coveted and fought for by lusty builders of empire.

THE PRESENT STRUGGLE

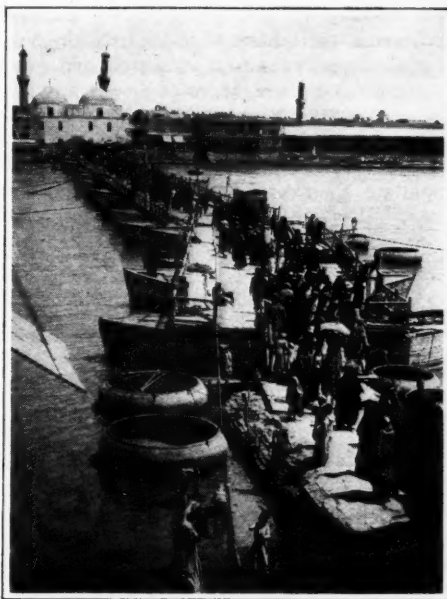
To England, Bagdad is especially important because of its relation to India. In 1838 an expedition was sent out under Colonel Chesney to test the question of a shorter route to India by way of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf. While steam navigation of the Euphrates did not prove practicable, and that plan was for the time abandoned, this expedition resulted in attracting attention to the Bagdad country (one result of which, by the way, was the exploration and excavation of ancient Babylonian and Assyrian sites, first by the English and French, and later by the Americans and Germans). The British Consulate at Bagdad was raised in rank, and connected immediately with the Indian administration, the Consul-General having the status of Resident, and an establishment only inferior to that of the Ambassador in Constantinople, with a gunboat in the Tigris and a guard of Sepoys. There was further a post-office, using Indian stamps, and a camel post for swift communication across the desert to Damascus, until the British obtained the concession for a telegraph line.

At the same time a British commercial house was established in Bagdad, with a line of river steamboats to Bosra, where it connected with a line of large steamers to India, and a trade was developed in wool, dates, and horses. The country was thoroughly surveyed by the Indian Government and all the ancient water courses mapped. Communications were opened with the independent

Emirs of central Arabia, and a protectorate established over the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf. This was in the post-Crimean days, when Turkey regarded England as a father. Later she began to become jealous, established a rival steamboat service of her own on the Tigris, and for a time the Euphrates also, to connect Bagdad with Aleppo, with a rival post-office, and camel post, and even attempted rival archæological expeditions. France, to a certain extent, competed with England in Bagdad as in the hither East in general, and as Russia began to extend its influence and its interests southward in Central Asia it first utilized the friendly French Consulate, and then in the latter eighties established one of its own in Bagdad the better to watch and to foil its British rival.

Germany appeared on the scene about the beginning of the nineties, taking England's place as banker and patron of the Turk, when England and France declined to loan more money. At first the German concessions seemed to be purely commercial and scientific, then they became monopolistic and political, aiming apparently to establish an industrial-political monopoly of the Turkish Empire, controlling a short route to the further East, and threatening England's control of her eastern route, and her Indian empire. A crisis was reached when Germany obtained the concession for the Bagdad railway in 1902. Germany had now become the rival of England, forcing a complete change in the latter's traditional policy. Hence England's agreement with Russia in 1907 to kill the Persian free state and divide up its territory, by which she obtained control of the Persian shore of the Persian Gulf, and the fertile plain of Arabistan with its rich oil deposits. Hence also the agreement by which France received free hand in Morocco. In return, Bagdad was included in England's recognized sphere of influence, the three nations standing together to support one another in the three fields thus parcelled out. As a result, Germany's Bagdad railway plan was so far modified that the terminal on the Persian Gulf was placed at Kuwait, under British control, and England received concessions for the development of the canalization of Irak.

When the war broke out the Bagdad railway was practically completed to Nisibin on the Tigris, a little less than 400 miles north of Bagdad. With the control of both shores of the Persian Gulf and the sea the British were able at once to seize Bosra, and



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THE FAMOUS BRIDGE OF BOATS OVER THE TIGRIS,
AT BAGDAD

should have been able to occupy the whole country northward to Bagdad. Unfortunately here, as at Gallipoli, they blundered sadly in the first expedition. They failed on the one hand to realize the strength of the forces opposed to them, and the extent to which the Turks had been strengthened and reinforced by German training and German equipment; and on the other hand they misinterpreted the disaffection toward the Turkish government of the Arabs, counting it as a positive instead of a merely negative factor in the situation.

To-day the British hold, according to latest reports, the entire alluvial plain of Irak northward to Bagdad, and beyond to Samarra, which is connected with Bagdad by rail. They have advanced up the Euphrates to Hit, the site of the most ancient and probably the most extensive deposits of bitumen and petroleum in all that region, four days' march from Bagdad. They have failed to gain control of another great fuel deposit up the Diyala River and about Kerkuk, eastward of the Tigris, on the flanks of the Persian mountains. Here is a Turkish enclave in an Arabic-speaking community, a land of loyal and warlike Turks, without the conquest of which any advance up the Tigris is dangerous and difficult. It

was because of this unconquered Turkish section on their flank that the British, having advanced to Tekrit, were obliged later to retreat down the Tigris to Samarra, when the Russian collapse enabled the Turks to strengthen their army to the north.

It should be possible for the British to maintain their present position. They are

practically on their base, whereas an advance against them, either down the Tigris or the Euphrates, involves long and very difficult transport through almost uninhabited regions for 300 to 500 miles. For the same reason, however, further advance by the British, now that Russia is eliminated, is extremely hazardous and expensive.

CURRENT ITEMS FROM A BAGDAD NEWSPAPER

[We are indebted to an excellent Arabic scholar, Miss Mary Caroline Holmes, long resident in the Orient, for the following translation of several items selected from a native paper, *Al Arab*, published in Bagdad, copies of which arrived in New York last month. These items show in a remarkable way the delight and surprise of the Bagdad people with the improvements and reforms brought in by the English, not the least of these being an electric-lighting system—THE EDITOR.]

Early in November, when the Electric Light Company lighted the streets of Bagdad with electricity, the people were filled with astonishment. Some declared that nothing less than the Jinn could produce such brilliant light. Others asserted that it was male and female, the latter being the lights of the city, while the males were kept in the pockets of the Englishmen. Still others said that in their opinion these wonderful lights were the bird "*Al Bahman*," spoken of by "*Al Ardesy*" in his book, "*The Pleasure of the Longing in News from the Border*." "*Al Bahman*" is supposed to circle around and around the sea, observing the horizon, then mounting to the top of the tallest mast to warn the sailors of a coming tempest.

The Governor of Bagdad has announced that every house in the city has been registered and appraised. No one will be allowed to charge rent for any dwelling exceeding ten per cent of its valuation.

The endowments (*wakf*) of the various places of worship have also been registered, so that nothing can be expended without being accounted for by the notables in whose hands they are kept.

When the British began to complete the railway to the Persian Gulf, they induced certain of the Arabs to work as laborers. They did this more to disarm the timid Arabs of fear of foreign invasion than of need of their help. Hence the people in their goat-hair tents watched the shining

rails being pushed southward by their own men, and by the time it was completed they had heard from them what it all meant.

One of the things the English did was to invite the sheikhs of important tribes to go to Busrah in the first through train. They went in silent acquiescence, but came back loud in their praise of what it meant to their land, and asking of Allah every good to come to the great British Government.

There was recently held an interesting ceremony in the convent of the Dominican nuns, when the lamented General Maude bestowed decorations on three of the nuns (French) for their care of the sick and prisoners.

But one of the best things the new government has done is to gather together the idle and good-for-nothing in the city and put them to work, thus bringing rest and safety to all.

Under the rule of the Turks, the land adjacent to the rivers was let to those of the tribes who practise farming, at increasingly high rates, until their taxes were so high that they barely managed to live. One of the first things the British did was to take over all those lands and rent them to those oppressed tenants at a reasonable figure.

A system of education has been inaugurated in this city of Bagdad by the British, and the children are all busily studying, where before they had never had a chance to get even a little education excepting at the mission schools.

CANADA ON THE FORWARD MARCH

BY J. P. GERRIE

IN the last hours of 1917, Canada made another great advance in enacting from coast to coast a war-time prohibition measure against the liquor traffic. Prior to that, steady and marked progress had been made through local option in municipalities and legislative enactments in provinces. By the former method many of the provinces were more than half "dry," while a relentless offensive was continued for the completion of the work in provincial areas. When the larger measures for prohibition came they did so with a rush. Prince Edward Island had the honor to lead the way. Alberta and Manitoba seemed likely to be next with direct mandates from the people, but Saskatchewan stole a march through the legislature with a war-time measure. Following these provinces came Ontario and British Columbia, and also Nova Scotia and New Brunswick with war-time measures, completing what little remained to become dry. Quebec is now taking definite legislative action, though that province, apart from the larger centers, has been largely prohibition through local option.

The new Dominion measure prohibits the manufacture on a date to be determined and at once the importation of all beverages of more than 2½ per cent. alcohol. Above this percentage liquors are branded as intoxicating. Local option and provincial prohibition did great service, yet were handicapped in their fullest efficiency by reason of adjoining wet territory, and in the provinces because the law could not touch importation, which, failing the regular market, sought more earnestly for other sources of business in private and home consumption. Now the federal enactment makes good the defect in provincial law, and all Canada in a very far-reaching sense, may soon be written under the flag of prohibition. It is true that the law is a war measure, operative during its progress and twelve months after the declaration of peace, but having enjoyed the benefits Canada will never return to the old order of things.

Women's franchise is another of the great forward movements of the day. In this, Alberta took the lead one year ago with an absolute equality measure. The first provincial election, which followed a few months later, found the women in evidence everywhere. Notably among these was Mrs. Nellie L. McClung, the gifted writer and platform speaker, whose eloquent advocacy of women's suffrage and prohibition now dates back a good many years. Mrs. McClung, it may be added, has just returned from a lecturing tour in the United States, and on a former like occasion visited some twenty-nine States of the Union. Then Mrs. Louise C. McKinney, president of the Alberta Women's Christian Temperance Union, who formerly held a like position in one of the Northwestern States, became an independent candidate, and won the election by a large majority, and at the same time the honor of being the first woman representative in a Canadian legislative body. The soldiers, overseas, were also accorded two representatives, and chose as one Miss McAdams, a nursing sister with the forces at the front. Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Ontario, and British Columbia all followed with women's enfranchisement enactments, while the other provinces directly or indirectly took the matter up, temporarily tabling it or rejecting it, as in one case, by the chairman's vote.

In British Columbia Mrs. Ralph Smith has just been elected to the legislature by a very large majority to fill the vacancy caused by the death of her husband, the late Hon. Ralph Smith. Canada can be congratulated on the character of the women representatives thus far chosen, and through their influence and service will move forward to higher and better things.

The question also received Dominion-wide recognition in the recent federal elections when family relatives of soldiers overseas and at the front were accorded the right to vote. A Dominion measure for the full enfranchisement of women therefore becomes an

assured fact, and herein is one of the reasons why Canada will not again give place to the liquor traffic.

The outcome of the recent federal elections in the return of a strong Union government is also hailed as a great war step in advance. This is undoubtedly true as far as the former administration is concerned. The conduct of the election, however, unfortunately gave the impression to many minds that the issue was "withdrawal from or continuance" in the war. This was unfortunate. It gave out the idea of a divided Canada. Among all classes there is but one conclusion, and that is Canada's participation in the war until victory is absolute and complete. This the opposition leader declared over and over again, while his outstanding lieutenant gave practical evidence of his own position in his two sons, one in a soldier's grave in France and the other still fighting in the trenches. Conscription was, therefore, opposed because it was claimed that the voluntary system had not received a fair trial, particularly in the province of Quebec, and because the measure was the enactment of a moribund parliament already one year beyond its constitutional period.

It was further argued that while every available man should be in the army, yet the gravity of the food supply for England and her allies made production an issue of paramount importance. Canada's vast agricultural areas give untold possibilities in this phase of winning the war, but men are sorely needed for tilling soil and reaping crops.

On the other hand, the entrance of strong representative Liberals into a Union government changed the complexion of the situation. With the one connecting link between the past and the new administration in the Prime Minister, who had labored earnestly, even if at a late day, for union, it was felt that by-gones should be by-gones, and that both parties should come together, contributing their best in effort and counsel for a more vigorous and successful prosecution of the war. It was also contended that in view of the tremendous issues at stake all mere technicalities might be swept aside, and that the referendum asked for by the opposition would mean not only delay in a most critical hour, but the opportunity of an adverse vote from the slacker, the coward, and the unsympathetic non-Anglo-Saxon. The assurance was given from the Union platform that profiteering and other abuses had

been entirely eliminated, and that the government was before the people with a united, vigorous program, and a clean slate for Canada's part in winning the war. This was the one and only question. Nothing else mattered at this stage of Canada's history.

And now the Union government is in the saddle, with an overwhelming verdict absolute and complete. This verdict became infinitely more pronounced late in February when the results of the soldiers' voting in England, France, and Belgium were cabled to Ottawa. Several Canadian decisions were reversed in favor of the government, while practically every Union member had his majority greatly increased. Altogether the Union government captured over ninety per cent. of the overseas soldiers' vote. In the light of the terrific struggle before the troops, old party lines and other issues had no place in their vote. There, too, nothing else mattered save "win the war!"

That nothing else mattered was further shown in many places of which the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta may be given as outstanding illustrations. In the election of 1911 the issue turned on the tariff question, when Sir Robert Borden had but one supporter in each province, while on the war issue in 1917 he has the entire support of these provinces save one representative from each. Then, too, the Hon. W. S. Fielding, who was the chief Canadian representative in framing the reciprocity measure of that date which brought about his party's and his own defeat, was returned by acclamation by a Nova Scotia constituency as a supporter of the Union government. Other stalwart Liberals are in parliament supporting the administration.

Canada wants no compromise peace. Her contributions of money, and means, and above all the very flower of her manhood demand that the sacrifices be not in vain. She has given much, she will give more—her very all—that this struggle for justice and democracy be won. Better, it would seem, that her people be numbered with her brave dead should that struggle be lost. Her living both in government and opposition so speak. Her dead in Flanders and in France, the bravest and worthiest of her people, all speak that the great cause for which they gave their lives be carried to its goal. Never did a government take from an electorate a clearer, stronger mandate.

The opportunity is great. May the new government be equal to its responsibilities!



RUSSIA AND JAPAN

BY K. K. KAWAKAMI

[Mr. Kawakami is one of the ablest of Japanese students of international affairs, and this article upon Japan's prospective military policy in Siberia is based upon exceptional knowledge of facts and conditions.—THE EDITOR.]

JAPAN'S proposal to send troops to Siberia has surprised few. For months the world has been expecting such a move on the part of Japan. And yet the proposal is not a premeditated one. It is an inevitable outcome of the sudden and unexpected turn which the course of events has taken in Russia and Siberia.

It is regrettable that Japan could not, under the existing circumstances, enter into a better understanding with the Bolshevik Government before she has decided to send her troops across the Japan Sea. It goes without saying that Japan has no intention of fighting Bolshevism or of antagonizing any power in Russia. Whether this or that faction gains a controlling power in Russia is not, at this crucial moment, important to Japan or to her allies. The vital point, the point that concerns Japan and her allies most, is whether Russia, whatever party may rule her, is capable of resisting and check-mating the German invasion of her territories in Europe and in Asia.

As long as the Russians seemed able, or willing, to resist the German onslaught, Japan was ready to back her. She has advanced 378,000,000 yen to them, and has shipped to them enormous quantities of war supplies. She has transferred three warships to the Russian flag and has sent to the Russian army numerous guns and large quantities of ammunition. Japan knew that a friendly Russia would mean a buffer between the Far East and Germany. She knew that as a neighbor Germany, aggressive, well organized, eager to expand, efficient both in commerce and in arms, would be far more dangerous than Russia, potentially powerful, but still unorganized and in a comparatively low state of efficiency. At any rate, Japan considered herself fortunate to be separated from Germany by 6000 miles of Russian territory. With that fact in view, Japan has, ever since the Manchurian war of 1915, striven to make friends with Russia. Her efforts have not been in vain. The friendship, which, in the last days of the Romanoff

dynasty, culminated in an *entente cordiale* between the two countries, would have continued under the new régime, had the liberal government, which rose upon the ruins of the autocracy, been only capable of observing Russia's solemn covenants with her allies.

Japan hopes that Russia will eventually "find" herself and succeed in establishing a stable, efficient government, which will prove friendly to her and stand as a bulwark of protection against Germany's eastward advance. But Japan must deal not with the uncertain developments of the future, but with the stern realities of the present. Consideration of her own safety demands that she must act, and act promptly.

We must not attach any importance to the peace treaty which Germany has imposed upon Russia. The Russians themselves attach no importance to it, and declare that they had to sign it simply because they were bullied by the Germans. Whatever may have been, or may be, accomplished at Brest-Litovsk, Germany's eastward advance will go on, peaceably if it may, forcibly if it must.

GERMANY'S OBJECTIVE

Let no one be deluded as to what Germany is driving at. Her stake is high. The brains that conceived the Bagdad scheme are surely conceiving a project infinitely greater in scope, now that the empire of the Czar has collapsed. The Junkers of Prussia see spread before them a vast territory of 8,000,000 square miles, which may be brought under their influence at a small cost. If they succeed in this scheme they will not care whether they advance any farther on the Western front. Even before the war Germany's characteristic diplomacy was at work at Petrograd, and since the war began her ingenuity for intrigue has been given full play for the disintegration of Russia. The downfall of the Romanoff dynasty and all the tragedies that followed, reducing Russia into nonentity, are the inevitable outcome of German machination.

I was in Harbin last summer and witnessed with my own eyes the state of chaos prevailing at that Far Eastern outpost of Russia. The government had lost its power. The officers, both military and civil, had no authority. The soldiers, who had apparently deserted the eastern fronts, were coming in the city in increasing numbers, openly utilizing the trans-Siberian trains. In former times the military authorities in Harbin were

very powerful, and the army officers were the most respected class of residents there. To-day the tables have been completely turned. The privates go about paying no attention to superior officers whom they may happen to come across. If a private commits robbery, or even murder, the officers are powerless and have little disposition to deal rigorously with the perpetrator of such crimes. And the story of disorder in Harbin is likewise the story of many another city throughout Siberia.

RUSSIAN DISINTEGRATION IN SIBERIA

In view of the presence in Siberia of a large number of German prisoners of war, this disorganization becomes all the more alarming. In such a complete collapse of Russia's military authority in Siberia, one can well imagine how easy it is for these Germans to secure freedom and engage themselves in the work of promoting German influence in the East. The recent report from Irkutsk that 2000 Germans there are drilling Russians is an ominous indication of what they are capable of doing. Even before the war, Germans were the dominant factor in Siberia. The Russians, slow and inefficient, were no match for them in trade and industry. In Vladivostok and Harbin, and in fact in most cities in Siberia, trade was practically in the hands of Germans.

As early as 1908 the British Consul at Vladivostok wrote of that port as follows: "The bulk of the foreign population here is German. Commercially speaking, the town is practically a German one. Not only the wholesale, but also the retail, business is in German hands, and there is only one Russian firm of real importance." If, as the result of the disorganization of Russia, the Siberian railways are even temporarily controlled by Germany, Vladivostok, that Russian Gibraltar of the Far East, will be converted into a German military outpost. It would be easy for the Germans to ship submarine parts over the Siberian line to Vladivostok, where they would be put together and used to the detriment of allied interests.

It must be remembered that Vladivostok is far more formidably fortified than Port Arthur had ever been fortified in the historic days of General Alexieff. Russian Island, lying athwart the main entrance to the harbor, is guarded with the heaviest guns, and was, before the war, garrisoned with a whole division of troops. The Shkott and the Godolbin Peninsulas that

embrace the harbor are likewise impregably protected. At the outbreak of the war there were at least seventy-six forts mounting some 580 cannon of different caliber and manned with 38,000 soldiers. The military and naval warehouses were constructed on a grand scale, extending for thousands of feet along the naval basin and capable of storing supplies sufficient for a long siege. Vladivostok, in short, is one of the most strongly fortified ports in the world. Such a port, if controlled by Germany, will be like the mailed fist aimed directly against the Japanese. For Japan is only forty hours' ride across the Japan Sea.

JAPAN'S OBJECT—TO CHECKMATE GERMAN ADVANCE

Viewed in this light, the dispatch of Japanese troops into Siberia is of far deeper meaning than the prevention of war supplies now at Vladivostok from falling into the hands of Germany. One may almost say that the protection of those war supplies is but Japan's minor consideration. The real question is how far Germany may be permitted to make inroads into Siberia. If Japan's real motive be, as it probably is, to checkmate the German advance in Siberia, she is indeed embarking upon a gigantic task. How far Japan will have to go, and what sacrifices she may have to suffer in order to accomplish such a task no one can foretell.

To make the situation still more ominous, the Germans are evidently secretly operating in the region of Semipalatinsk in southwestern Siberia, whence they will make inroads into Chinese Turkestan, and will, in coöperation with the Turks, line up with them the Mohammedans in those territories. He is a novice in *weltpolitik* who thinks that Germany's hands are too full just now to undertake such a task.

How far the Japanese army will have to advance in Siberia, not even the Japanese military authorities can say at this moment. To go as far as the Lake Baikal, by way of Korea and Manchuria, the Japanese will have to travel 2000 miles. Or, if they land at Vladivostok and advance by the Amur railway that skirts the north bank of the Amur River, the distance to Irkutsk will be about 2700 miles. From Vladivostok to Harbin the distance is 485 miles; from Harbin to Irkutsk on the Baikal almost 900 miles. The Amur line touches the cities of Khabarovsk and Blagoveschensk, and joins the main line at Chita, 317 miles east of

Irkutsk. Of the cities named, Irkutsk is the largest, having a population of 108,000. Vladivostok has 91,000 population, Blagoveschensk 70,000, Chita 68,660, Khabarovsk 54,000, and Harbin 100,000, half of whom are Chinese. The territories which will be immediately affected by the Japanese campaign will comprise the Amur Province, 154,795 square miles in area, with a population of 230,000; Trans-Baikalia, 238,308 square miles, with a population of 893,200, and North Manchuria, 242,520 square miles. This population includes both civilians and the military. If we deduct the military from the above totals, the population of these provinces will be far more insignificant.

The Siberian Railway from Vladivostok to the Ural Mountains is about 5000 miles long. Would it not be a wise policy for Russia to allow America and Japan jointly to supervise this line until the termination of war, or perhaps until Russia has succeeded in establishing a fairly stable government? This need not necessarily be regarded as a security for \$370,000,000 and \$180,000,000 which America and Japan, respectively, have advanced to Russia. It is to be hoped that Russia will look at the matter in a different light and regard the measure as an expedient necessary to safeguard Siberia against the German advance.

From the Japanese point of view it seems desirable that America should send a contingent of soldiers to Siberia to coöperate with the Japanese. Such a measure will make the two nations actual allies. It will surely have the effect of disarming many critics whose business it is to predict, and even work for, an eventual clash between Japan and America. Moreover, if the soldiers of the two countries stand shoulder to shoulder and fight for a common cause, a feeling of comradeship is bound to develop among them. If the American soldiers become true friends of the Japanese soldiers, much of the anxiety as to a future conflict between Japan and America must be dispelled, for it is no secret that men in khaki on both sides of the Pacific have been casting suspicious glances towards each other.

In the language of President Wilson, "our first aim is to win the war." To the attainment of that end the Allies must bend their energies, ignoring small grievances, sinking their difference in minor matters, and, above all, avoiding the dangerous path of suspicion and distrust.



A PRINTERS' TRADE SCHOOL IN NEW YORK

BY WALDO ADLER

IN the heart of the metropolis—but scarcely known to it—is a private trade school for printers' apprentices that is owned, paid for, and managed by the joint and equal efforts of union men, capitalists, and a community center, in triple alliance, and so successfully has this alliance worked that it is compulsory for every printer's apprentice to attend this school. "Big Six," the Typographical Union, the employers, and the Hudson Guild form this alliance.

In 1912 the Hudson Guild engaged a practical printer to teach printing to the boys of the neighborhood who came to the Guild anxious to learn a trade.

The Guild provided a large room in the basement of the building without charge, the director, A. L. Blue, a member of "Big Six," secured one thousand dollars from his union as working capital for the school—and then the employers, who also gave one thousand dollars annually, were requested to give their apprentices part time afternoons at full pay for schooling. This the employers agreed to do on condition that each boy should give as well one night in every week of his own time to complete his attendance at the Apprentices' School. It is necessary for the apprentices to learn their trade while earning a part or all of their living. But this concession on the part of the employers was a purely voluntary assistance and

was given because of the confidence which the director was able to win from them.

More than 200 boys from 111 printing houses attended the school in 1912. There are now over 400 and they come not only from New York City, but from New Jersey and Long Island. The pupil must not only "lay out" whole pages, do display, tabular work, imposition and stone work, but must also pass tests in English. A liberal education in punctuation, spelling and literature is an important part of the course.

If he passes these tests, which are rigid, he is admitted to his trade and may not be paid less than twenty-eight dollars a week by his employer. So effectually have this school and the standard of its training done away with the old plan of hiring cheap labor for apprentice work, and "firing" the boy at the end of his apprentice years, that the union requires all printers to send their apprentices to this school. The rules further forbid the discharge of an apprentice at the end of his apprentice years, and protect the employer by forbidding the apprentice leaving one shop and entering another without the written consent of his first employer and the president of the Typographical Union.

After probation, as a journeyman printer, the graduate is given a full card by the union. To gain these great benefits, however, the apprentice must work at least one year in the

shop before he can be admitted to the Apprentices' School. Thus he is admitted at about seventeen years of age and is earning twenty-eight dollars a week when he is twenty-one.

Good wages and a good job are enough to make the average man a steady citizen. But in the case of this school there is an even stronger stabilizer for the boy who comes into it. The Hudson Guild, which houses

the Apprentices' School, is a powerful organization, with many social clubs, a gymnasium, a playground, etc. The boy who enters this school enters this influential organization. "Having a trade" and belonging to this group change his point of view from that of the outlaw—the too customary outlook of a boy of fourteen—to that of a member loyal to the standards of the group to which he belongs.

YOUNG AT SEVENTY

BY CHARLES FRANCIS

[Mr. Charles Francis, of New York, is widely known in the printing industry as a successful master printer, and as a man whose justice, sympathy and good temper have enabled him in many crises to smooth out difficulties between employers and employed men in the printers' trades. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday, February 16, 1918, a great dinner was tendered to him in New York, several hundred people being present—representing the master printers, the trades, the personnel of Mr. Francis's own business, and many people active and prominent in various ways. Mr. Francis was born in Australia, where he began his work at a very early age. He went afterwards to England, and has now for the greater part of his life been in the United States. He is a man of such vigorous personality and superb health that we have asked him to tell our readers informally (since he prints the REVIEW for them month by month) by what means he has so well conserved his energy and achieved the success that seems to look quite as much to the future as to the past. Among the many good things which are benefitted by Mr. Francis' advice and co-operation, is the printers' trade school described in the article preceding this, the heads of which joined in celebrating Mr. Francis' anniversary.—THE EDITOR.]

It seems not easy to answer satisfactorily the question, "How to Maintain Youth, Health, and Vigor at an Advanced Age"; but I will try.

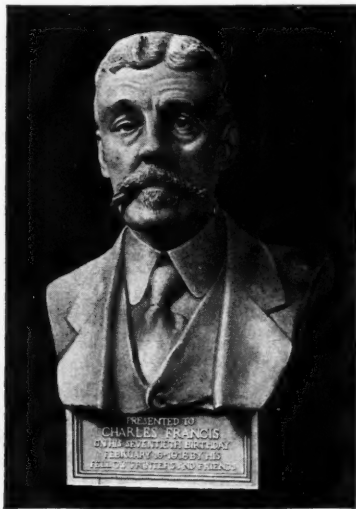
All my life I have given time to exercise. At sixteen I was a successful oarsman, and for two or three years in my "teens" I rowed four miles before breakfast and four miles after six-o'clock evening meal. Swimming also occupied much of my leisure. I enjoyed splendid health, and no amount of work troubled me, as may be inferred from my engaging in both day and night work for about a year, sleeping week-nights on the feed-board of a press. I took a good long sleep in bed Sunday nights, and felt fine.

At 18, as publisher and printer of the *Otago Punch*, in New Zealand, I worked so continuously

as compositor, pressman, lithographer, binder, and delivery boy, that I needed no other exercise. Later, when called to the New Zealand goldfields my exercise, outside of my work, was horseback riding. This seemed insufficient, and I started a dancing class, which afforded a delightful exercise that I continue to this day. During those early days, I also occasionally did some ball-playing.

In London I worked sixty hours a week, sometimes more, and used to walk three miles to business and return each day. This, with some dancing, maintained my physique.

Marrying and coming to America, I did not allow changed conditions to keep me from some sort of exercise. In Chicago I hoed in the garden, raised chickens, walked and danced, in which latter accomplishment my wife joined me for many years.



THE BRONZE BUST OF MR. CHARLES FRANCIS, PRESENTED TO HIM ON HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

At Little Rock I did get a little run down by continuous indoor work and a Southern climate, so I bought a rowboat and practised on the river twice a day, besides doing some dancing. There I had the only serious illness of my life, being despaired of for a time, but pulled through and was working again in a fortnight.

Through the following years—in Louisville, Cincinnati, and New York—I always maintained some form of exercise, and recently resumed dancing. I bought the Swoboda system and have used it for many years, giving twenty minutes to exercise every morning upon arising. Now, at seventy, I am still dancing privately, at least twice a week, and walk when it is convenient. In the summer I swim, play tennis, and enjoy other forms of exercise.

But exercise is not the only essential to health, as I see it. I never smoked, and there is no nicotine or alcoholic poison in my system. Early rising always seemed beneficial, and hard work was never detrimental.

Much of my exceptional health and strength is due to absence of worry. I never would carry the annoyances of business back to the home, and allow them to interfere with home duties and pleasures. As im-

portant as anything else was the attempt always to be cheerful in spite of setbacks, planning tasks for myself and never being satisfied until they were accomplished, and cultivating a spirit of helpfulness for others.

Now, at seventy years, I feel as active as I did at forty; and my physician tells me that I have the blood-pressure of a man of thirty. I rise at six, breakfast at seven, reach the office at eight, and follow a vigorous business day, laid out on schedule. Lunch is taken as a rest. At 5.30 I start for home,

and often have to attend a meeting at night. I retire between ten and twelve o'clock, after evening devotion.

The day's work with me involves many different businesses. These include the large printing house of which I am the head, and several allied enterprises. I am also a director or active partici-

pant in many organizations of a business kind and others of a religious, fraternal, or philanthropic character.

I attend many meetings of printing and allied trades unions, endeavoring to promote friendly relations and cultivate a right spirit. These activities, with attending national conventions, writing a book or two, giving lectures on printing, etc., keep me out of mischief, and afford little time to think of self.

MR. FRANCIS SAYS "DON'T!"

Don't drink spirituous liquors.

Don't smoke.

Don't eat too much.

Don't sleep too much.

Don't use up your vitality in immoral surroundings.

Don't carry your business with you all the time.

Don't worry.

Don't get angry. It does you no good, and impairs your dignity and serenity.

Don't fight—Conciliate or arbitrate.

MR. FRANCIS SAYS "DO!"

Do get plenty of fresh air, sleeping or waking.

Do exercise regularly every day, especially practising deep breathing. Note.—You do not need dumbbells or apparatus; use your muscles vigorously 20 minutes every morning, on arising.

Do follow some athletic sport—as swimming, skating, dancing, tennis or golf.

Do vary your occupation as far as possible, and forget all others for the one you are at the moment engaged in.

Do forget yourself and your own troubles in taking up the universal troubles or assisting your friends with their troubles.

Do remember that the Lord will provide for those who work and trust Him.

Do look at all things philosophically.

Do make friends.

Do business with a free hand, and be pleasant, even when you feel that you are being imposed upon.

Do be satisfied with what the Lord gives you, but strive constantly to be of more use in the world.

Do your best at all times, whether working or playing.

Do express your convictions without fear or favor.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

A PROGRAM OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRESS

THE war has revealed to us grave defects in our political and economic systems. Possibly others quite as serious may be brought to light later. Meanwhile, that we may profit from the experience already dearly bought, President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University has summarized under eight specific heads the policies that he thinks should be adopted by the nation as a means of preparation for the great tasks of peace that are to come after the war. These he stated succinctly in an address delivered before the Commercial Club of St. Louis on February 16.

The upheaval through which we are now passing reaches every part of our social, our industrial, and our political system. To Dr. Butler the distinction between the field of government and the field of free action seems to have been practically swept away, at least for the moment. We find ourselves without the proper governmental or economic organization required to win the war and we are compelled to improvise such organization as best we may.

Dr. Butler believes that great as this upheaval is, its results are bound to be beneficial. The people will be open-minded and ready to adopt new methods. His proposals may be briefly stated as follows:

1. The participation in a League of Nations to establish and enforce the rules of international law.

2. National training for national service, both in the military and in the industrial sense; the industrial training to extend in some degree to both sexes. Dr. Butler believes that such a plan of training will commend itself to many Americans who would be slow to accept such a project if presented solely from the military point of view.

3. A national effort in coöperation with the States to lead Americans back to the land

and check the unhealthy concentration of population in our great cities. This might be accomplished by advancing purchase money at a low rate of interest payable in annual installments, extending over twenty to twenty-five years.

4. Federal supervision and control of our railroad transportation, rather than national ownership, and in order to maintain the prestige of our merchant marine that will have been largely regained at the end of the war, schools of naval architecture and construction and schools for the maintaining of seamen and officers will be required.

5. Social advance in the direction of true democracy; a larger and more democratic view of the entire system of protection than that which has prevailed for more than a century. "What war is teaching us in regard to the social waste, the social diseases springing from unemployment, from dependent old age, from overwork and underpay, from bad housing, must not be lost sight of when war gives way to a durable peace."

6. More effective and quicker coöperation between Congress and the Executive Departments; seats for members of the Cabinet in the Senate and House, with the right to participate in debate on matters relating to their several departments.

7. A national budget, as proposed in the report of the Commission on Economy and Efficiency, presented to Congress in 1912. The President should explicitly recommend ways in which the moneys necessary to meet the proposed appropriations are to be raised. This makes for publicity of action and for responsible democratic government. "Every year's delay in bringing this about increases governmental confusion, inefficiency, and extravagance, and postpones the possibility of a simpler, a better-balanced, and a more effective administration of the public business."

8. National unity, that is, a strengthening of the governmental and geographic solidarity of the United States by the exclusion of everything but English as the basis or instrument of common-school education; and

also the safeguarding of the homogeneity of our social and political organization by the suppression of all teaching designed to perpetuate racial differences in the case of our immigrants or to engender class hatred.

SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT IMPROVE ITS BUSINESS METHODS?

IN connection with the recent investigation and discussion of inefficiency in the United States War Department and other branches of the Government, there has been a renewal of the complaints by business interests regarding methods pursued in the various Government bureaus and the long delays in settling outstanding obligations. For years, the business methods of the Government have been such that business men and manufacturers have been loath to deal directly with the various departments, and as a result the furnishing of supplies too often has fallen to irresponsible middlemen or special contractors who have been willing to wait for their money and who have learned how to meet special requirements by a narrow margin.

As a result, in many such cases, the Government has suffered through excessive prices and inferior qualities of goods, while at times there have been suspicions of graft. Whether these were well-founded or not, it is undeniable that among business interests generally the methods of the Government have been characterized as inefficient and unbusinesslike, and the holding up of payments either for arbitrary or technical reasons, or too often for no reasons at all, except clerical shortcomings, has been criticized.

With the outbreak of the war, there was a changed attitude on the part of American business interests generally, both great and small, and a wholesome and patriotic desire to assist the Government to the fullest extent even to the sacrifice of profits and the subordination of regular customers. While these men have suffered through delays and through lack of coordination, as well as ignorance and inefficiency on the part of purchasing, inspecting, and disbursing officers, there has been not so much outspoken complaint as a mild and general criticism which occasionally found expression in the hearings of the Senate Military Committee.

As summarizing the attitude of responsible business towards United States Govern-

ment methods, the accompanying extract from the Monthly Letter of the American Exchange National Bank of New York City, which has received favorable comment in the commercial papers, is not without interest. This statement says:

The Federal Government has always been "slow pay" in settling open accounts. This discourages bidding on Government contracts and tends to enhance prices, because those who do bid add something to cover the risk of not getting their money when they are ready to make deliveries. Banks can speak with authority on this subject, because merchants, contractors, manufacturers, and even public servants, seek loans on the security of debts owed by the United States, the richest of nations. In many cases the banks are unwilling to grant such accommodations, because they have learned by sad experience that it is often hard to collect what the Federal Government owes. It is regrettable that truth compels such a statement of existing conditions, but innumerable instances can be cited to prove it, and it is all the more exasperating because in most cases prompt settlements could be made by cutting red tape in Washington "circumlocution" offices.

Congress has appropriated more money than the various departments have been able to spend and the Federal Treasury has plenty of money in its vaults and on deposit in the banks. It is not the banks, but the men and corporations doing business with the Government, that are suffering losses.

The public often wonders how it is that unknown men without credit rating or facilities for doing the work obtain Government contracts which they sublet to responsible manufacturers with whom the Government would prefer to do business. The unpleasant truth is that such manufacturers do not wish to deal directly with the Government, because they find it hard to collect accounts and they are subject to attacks by members of both Houses of Congress and the newspapers, so they prefer to let a speculator deal with the Government and swallow the incidental abuse.

If the Federal Government would accept bills or issue treasury certificates which banks could lawfully and safely discount, such business could be financed. Banks holding Government deposits against which they could charge Government promises to pay when they fall due would loan money to contractors at the lowest current rates.

EXPRESSIONS IN THE GERMAN REVIEWS

GERMAN periodicals are, of course, not received regularly in this country. Through connections in England and some of the neutral countries we are able to summarize for the benefit of American readers several articles that have recently appeared in the German reviews. It is needless to say that the opinions therein expressed are frequently distorted.

Finns, Poles, and Ukrainians

Writing in the magazine *Nord und Süd*, Dr. Paul Ostwald discusses the problem of the New Russia and the foreign populations on her Western frontier. It is not Russia proper which in the west borders on the other European states, he explains, but a chain of nations extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea subject to Russia, but in their civilization superior to the Russians. These peoples in Finland, Poland, and the Ukraine stand much nearer to European civilization than to the Russian. Absolutism admits one ruler, one people; one will, that of the ruler; and all subjects equal. No difference among different subjects and nationalities is permitted. This the writer characterizes as Pan-Russianism.

In the nineteenth century, however, there was a universal awakening of national consciousness, and Finns, Poles, and Ukrainians could not escape the movement. But their wish to retain their own religion, civilization and language was opposed all the more, and consequently there could be no peaceful intercourse between Czarism and the foreign populations in the West. The solution was force, the might of the stronger, and the peoples were powerless to resist Czarism.

The outbreak of war and the victories of the Austro-Hungarian armies, the writer goes on to say, have brought to these nations new hope of attaining their national aims. For the Poles and a portion of the Baltic Provinces these aims seem now to be fulfilled, but with regard to the others, especially the Finns and the Ukrainians, their desperate position was only accentuated. Finally to their aid came the revolution and the fall of absolutism, and in Finland and the Ukraine the peoples understood the call of the hour. Now or never is the time to create a free national state. Separation of these two territories from the Empire would be a hard blow to Russia, but for Germany and Central Europe it would mean emanci-

pation from the Russian danger. The fate of Finland and the Ukraine is, therefore, a question of the greatest importance to Germany.

Prussian Democracy

In his political correspondence in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, of Berlin, Dr. Hans Delbrück writes on the Hertling-Payer-Friedberg ministry. The two great tasks which this coalition ministry will be called upon to perform, he says, are Prussian electoral reform and peace; and in his article he endeavors to show how urgent is reform. To accomplish either of these things, not only the requisite insight but courage, above all, will be indispensable.

Equal franchise, Dr. Delbrück points out, has become a necessity, for Germany cannot win the war without the help of the masses. The postponement of this reform till after the war can only arouse the suspicion that the Reform Bill will come to nothing, and those who suggest that controversy about electoral reform should be avoided at the present time are asking for something which will make Germany lose the war. None the less, the opposition to reform is so strong in certain quarters that the whole energy of the government will be required to get the measure passed through both Houses of the Landtag, and the danger is all the greater because both Count Hertling and Dr. Friedberg have so far not shown any special enthusiasm for equal franchise.

America and Japan

An anonymous retired Austro-Hungarian diplomatist writes in a recent number of the *Deutsche Revue* on America and the Japanese danger. The writer sees no cause to justify the assumption that Japan has reached the zenith of her ambition. On the contrary, it is only necessary to consider the marvelous development of the island empire during the last two generations, the modernization of her institutions, her rise before our eyes, so to speak, to the position of a great power, her immense and still unused energy, to realize that, great as are her achievements, there is much more political and economic activity to come.

Already Japan has evinced a desire to extend her influence to China and has been moved to undertake the modernization of that country with the object of organizing

and uniting the immense forces of the yellow races under Japanese leadership. The success of such a plan would constitute a danger to the undisputed supremacy of the white race, fears the writer. Moreover, it would have serious consequences to the trade relations of Europe and America. Japanese industry is rapidly extending in China, Siam, India, etc. What would be the result were

the millions of Chinese, according to Japanese methods and under Japanese guidance, to come into competition with Western production?

It is the opinion of this Austro-Hungarian diplomat that the extension of Japanese influence in China will be greatly to the detriment of the United States. Only an early peace, he says, could check this danger.

ALLIED LABOR'S WAR AIMS

AT a meeting in London on February 22 representatives of Labor and Socialists groups in England, France, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, Rumania, and South Africa adopted a program of war aims, following in its main outlines the one proposed by the British Labor Party at Nottingham on December 28, last. Arthur Henderson, the British labor leader, summarized these aims in an address at the conference as meaning the establishment of a League of Nations involving international coöperation for disarmament and the prevention of war in the future. The conference resolved "to transmit to the Socialists of the Central Empires" this statement of war aims "in the hope that these will join without delay in a joint effort of the International which has now become more than ever the best and most certain instrument of democracy and peace."

Although American labor groups were not officially represented at this London conference Mr. Paul U. Kellogg, the editor of the *Survey* (New York), was present at the meetings and gives in his journal an exceptionally well-informed and enthusiastic account of the proceedings. It is impossible to present here a detailed report of the conference, but we are sure our readers will be interested in some of the conclusions that Mr. Kellogg formed after careful and extended observation.

As the first phase of what Mr. Kellogg terms the British labor offensive, the Nottingham meeting was held to get unanimity on war aims among the labor bodies of Great Britain; the second phase was the London conference which succeeded in massing majority and minority labor groups among the Allies behind a common program; the third phase will be an international meeting in Switzerland "to outflank the military deadlock and the diplomatic inhibitions that for three years have isolated

the working classes of Europe, and to find out for themselves first-hand whether they might clear a way to peace."

As Mr. Kellogg interprets the spirit of this Inter-Allied Labor Conference, its members served notice on the world that they proposed to have a say in the settlement of the war. They believe that the war was brought on by the governing classes, which cannot, in their opinion, be trusted to bring about any reasonable security against future wars. They believe that the common feeling and brotherhood of the masses throughout the world will be a far stronger bond to hold the world together than any international laws of courts or treaties that can be devised by the men now in office in the various governments.

Thus it is that the British labor men, and with them now allied labor, propose to find out, if they can, on what terms of settlement the German and Austrian working classes (with whom before the war they had much in common) stand with them; what differences separate them; what of these differences are due to ignorance and distortion, and so can be swept away by letting in the light; what of these differences are due to obstacles thrown in the way by other interests in the national life, and so can be combated internally with mutual understanding and support; what of these differences, if any, are in truth irreconcilable, and so must be fought through to the finish. And they believe that their statement of war aims brings the issues back to the unimpeachable bed-rock on which they (regardless of what motives actuated other groups in their own nation or in other nations) went into the war, and on which they propose to fight to the end—the issues of self-determination, which cluster about Belgium and which are democracy's answer to the doctrine of conquest. They believe they have stripped off those elements of competitive aggrandizement—forcible annexation, punitive indemnities, economic boycotts and the rest—which have come to encrust these first purposes and have given color on every hand to the propaganda that each people is fighting a war of defense. They believe that these issues are so close to the main springs of working class feeling that the German socialists

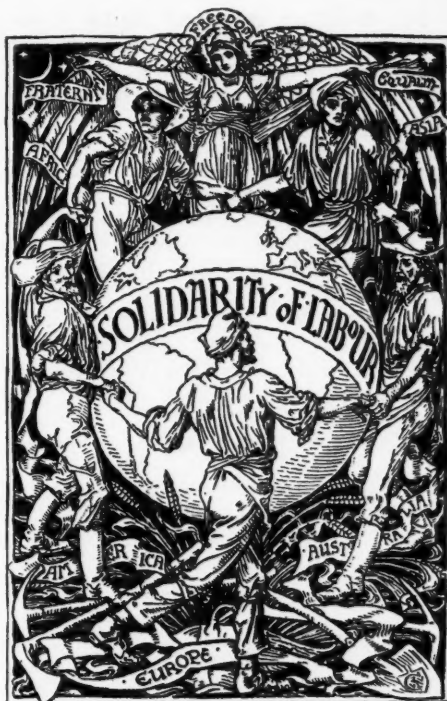
will get out of hand if their majority leaders go back from such a conference refusing to meet them. They believe that they will have driven a wedge between the German working class and the government which, sooner or later, will rend the central empires if the workers meet the issues and the governments refuse.

On behalf of these British labor representatives, Mr. Kellogg resents the imputation that they are visionaries or peace-at-any-prices, or advocates of a separate peace.

Their whole procedure is to organize a common front; and to do it, not, as they believe the governments had done prior to President Wilson's initiative, by arriving at the least common multiple of their several ambitions, but by cleaving through to what are the great common denominators of democratic purpose.

Mr. Kellogg was strongly impressed by the fact that within a year the English Labor Party was able to formulate a coherent program, both of foreign and internal policy, which could be balanced against that of the government in power and which offered "an alternative, fresher approach to issues of war and peace." Moreover, this program on its international side could be taken over by kindred groups in the Allied nations which had been seeking such leadership. A leading British economist told Mr. Kellogg that there were in the Labor Party more men of capacity and experience fitting them for responsibility and leadership in seeing England through the reconstruction period than in either the coalition government or the Liberal Party. These characteristics stand out clearly in the objects of the present British labor offensive as understood by Mr. Kellogg:

That the international conference shall be con-



LABOR'S MAY DAY
(George Kent in the London Herald)

sultative and not mandatory; that it shall be perfectly clear that it is a voluntary exchange of views and not an attempt to assume government function; that it shall in no way interfere with military effort; that it provides for entering into such a conference not as a loose body of labor groups meeting for the first time in the presence of a solid Germanic delegation, but for joint action by a real alliance of allied labor; that it provides for going into the conference with a deliberately formulated program of war aims which may be modified as to details, but in which the democratic principles at stake are nailed down.

ARMIES SAVED BY BACTERIOLOGY

PROPOS of the suit brought by antivivisectionists against the Red Cross to prevent the use of \$100,000 of Red Cross funds in research involving the sacrifice of animal life, Dr. W. W. Keen, the veteran surgeon of Philadelphia, contributes to *Science* for February 22 a valuable summary of the benefits to the human race that have already resulted from the practise of vivisection by bacteriologists.

Beginning with typhoid fever, "the historic scourge of armies," we are reminded that the bacillus—the cause of the fever—

was discovered in 1880, and it was soon proved that the disease was spread through infected milk, infected water, and very largely by the house fly. Sanitary measures restrict contamination to a great extent and thus limit the spread of the disease, but within recent years, as is well known, typhoid is controlled by an antitoxin similar to that against diphtheria. This was first recommended in the army in 1909 as a voluntary measure of protection, but the results were so favorable that in 1911 it was made compulsory.

The tables of cases and deaths in our Army and Navy speak for themselves as to the results. During the Civil War, when nothing was known about the cause of the disease, typhoid fever resulted in 79,462 cases and 29,336 deaths. In our war with Spain there were 20,739 cases and 1580 deaths. In other words, every fifth soldier in our Army fell ill with typhoid and over 86 per cent. of all the deaths in the war were due to this disease. In the Boer War, out of a total of 58,000 cases there were 8000 deaths—more than one-third of all the deaths in the war. In 1909, before anti-typhoid vaccination had been made compulsory, there were in our small standing army 173 cases and sixteen deaths. After vaccination was introduced the numbers were rapidly reduced, until in 1915 there were eight cases—four in the United States and four in Hawaii—and no deaths. In the Navy in 1915 there were fifteen cases and one death. On the Mexican border, when our National Guard troops were there in the spring of 1915, though the fever was rife near the camps, only one man out of 20,000 troops, a civilian who unfortunately escaped vaccination, fell ill with it!

As to the results in the armies in the present war, Mr. Forster, Under Secretary of War, stated in the British House of Commons on March 1, 1917, that

The last weekly returns showed only twenty-four cases in the four British armies in France, Salonica, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. He added that the total number of cases of typhoid fever in the British troops in France down to November 1, 1916, was 1684, of para-typhoid, 2534, and of indefinite cases, 353, making a total of 4571 of the typhoid group.

It should be stated that in the British armies anti-typhoid vaccination is still voluntary, but over 90 per cent. of the soldiers are thus protected.

In our own army during four months from September 21, 1917, to January 25, 1918, there was a daily average of 722,626 men in our cantonments and camps. Between those two dates there were 114 cases of typhoid. As Dr. Keen points out, had the conditions of 1898 prevailed, there would have been 144,500 cases. After the anti-typhoid inoculation was completed the number of cases rapidly fell, and from December 14th to January 25th there were only six cases among nearly 1,000,000 men. All this, says Dr. Keen, is the direct result of bacteriological laboratory work.

As to tetanus, or lockjaw, which in the Civil War killed ninety patients out of every one hundred attacked, Dr. Keen declares that it is only a question of getting the antitoxin to the soldier in time. To be effective, the serum must be given within a few hours, and in some instances the wounded soldier lies in No Man's Land until it is too late, but it is the rule to administer the serum to every wounded soldier the moment he gets to a surgeon, and all concur in saying that tetanus has been practically conquered.

Vaccination against smallpox has been practised for many years. This disease has been entirely abolished from our army. In the Philippine Islands, Dr. Heiser, as Director of Health, vaccinated over 8,000,000 persons without a death. Before that time the usual toll of smallpox in and around Manila had been 6000 deaths and about 25,000 cases annually. In the twelve months after Dr. Heiser's vaccination campaign was finished there was not one death from smallpox. On the other hand, in 1885 in Montreal, as stated by Dr. Osler, smallpox was introduced into a city that was largely unvaccinated; 3164 deaths resulted.

In the field of modern surgery, Dr. Keen declares Pasteur and Lister are the two greatest benefactors of the human race, in the domain of medicine.

In our Civil War, which antedated the work of these great bacteriologists, there were recorded sixty-four wounds of the stomach and only one recovery. The mortality was estimated by Otis at 99 per cent. In over 650 cases of wounds of the intestines there were only five cases of recovery after wounds of the small bowel and fifty-nine from wounds of the large bowel—together only sixty-four out of 650 recovered. That is, over ninety out of every one hundred died! By way of contrast, Dr. Keen cites the result of one series of abdominal gunshot wounds in the present war on a far larger scale. Out of 500 such operations, 245 recovered and only 255 died. Says Dr. Keen: "Contrast 51 per cent. of deaths in these wounds, with mutilation and infection unutterably worse than in the Civil War, with 99 per cent. of deaths according to Otis."

Before Lister's day, out of 100 cases of compound fracture, sixty-six died from infection. Now less than one out of 100 die.

In ovariectomy before Lister two out of three patients were lost. Now, only two or three in a hundred.

COLONEL HOUSE: SAGE-DIPLOMAT

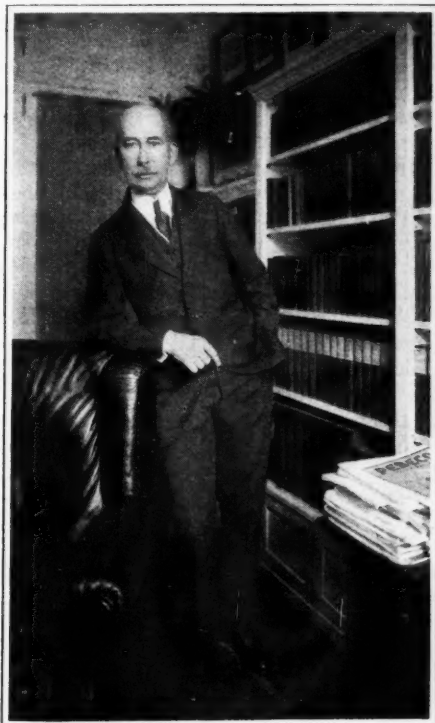
IN the page of comment on public affairs which he contributes weekly to *Leslie's* (New York) Mr. Norman Hapgood illuminates various topics in the fields of politics, art and literature. He is specially happy in his characterizations of public men. His paragraphs on Colonel House, "first of Texas, then of the United States, and finally of the world," in *Leslie's* for March 9, are both intelligent and sympathetic, and that is more than can be said of most of the material that has been printed in recent months about President Wilson's chief adviser.

Mr. Hapgood finds Colonel House's personality "charming, unusual, and in a sense mysterious." He admits that the portrait of this personality is difficult to draw, "because its significance and its distinction lie not in features, salient and easily apprehended, but in harmony, balance, and justness." Mr. Hapgood has been especially impressed by Colonel House's constructive genius:

He became in Texas politics a quietly guiding force, and a forward-making force, because he knew men, studied questions, and neither sought nor would accept anything for himself. Too frequently a great stage is the graveyard of reputations made in a smaller setting, but Colonel House has proved adequate to the post of counsellor-in-chief, and lieutenant-in-chief, to our President at a time when the very pillars of civilized life are shaking. If I were to select from all this globe a mind and heart worthy to be the umpire in any attempt to bring life and system out of destructive chaos, I should without hesitation choose this quiet gentleman from the vast reaches of the American hinterland.

I have seen him give decisions and solutions not only in large and general affairs, but also in details that come up from day to day in a campaign, and in all the opinions, broad or pointed, that I have known of his giving I have yet to find one that retrospect does not declare to have represented the surest human judgment. It is doubtful whether the most penetrating painter could find in his face the signs of this security of vision. It is a kind face, bright, eager, and gentle, that goes with manners that never injured stranger or friend. As one looks at the whole man, the blue eyes are the centre of attention. Outside of these luminous eyes there is no external feature that commands attention. It is perhaps not so much an object that confronts one as a presence, an atmosphere created by expression and by manner.

What distinguishes this man from other political leaders is his great gift of practical wisdom. Not only is he a courageous fighter, when occasion requires, but at all times, whether in war or peace, he may be counted on to act in accordance with the sanest judgment. Mr. Hapgood continues:



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COLONEL EDWARD MANDELL HOUSE IN HIS LIBRARY

In a mind thus marked by safety in its results one might expect to find delay in reaching conclusions. Many of Colonel House's opinions, on the contrary, are noticeable for speed. There are, of course, matters which he ponders for a long time, but often one who consults him receives a positive view immediately the question is propounded. This is often the way of philosophers in action. Lincoln delayed some of his conclusions until he had carefully examined a situation many times, but quick and decided expressions were equally characteristic of him. . . . Colonel House deals with conditions that have actually passed before his own mind, during his own life, and mainly in his own country. In that respect as in others he is distinctively American. In only one respect does he suggest another nation rather than our own. In England one is more likely than with us to find men who seek nothing for themselves, are glad to avoid responsibility and limelight, but have a high sense of service and the most unshakable honor.

President Wilson has sent Colonel House three times to Europe to represent him. As Mr. Hapgood truly says, "This private citizen has been carrying the weight of representing our Republic at a time as critical as any the world has seen."

THE VICE OF SECRET DIPLOMACY

IN connection with the publication of the secret treaties by the Russian Bolshevik government, there has been much discussion both here and abroad of the evils long associated with the making of secret alliances between governments.

In the *North American Review*, Mr. A. Maurice Low pays a well-deserved tribute to the wisdom of the framers of the Constitution of the United States who in the Sixth Article of that document wrote these words: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land."

This, says Mr. Low, was "a blow struck at that mass of intrigue, deceit and dishonesty which for centuries the world had known as secret diplomacy, the most vicious, immoral and dangerous power seized by a ruler in defiance of the rights of his subjects."

By giving to treaties the same force as laws the framers of our Constitution made it impossible that any American President should by the exercise of a prerogative, such as the European kings had employed, be able to contract secret alliances and commit the nation to costly campaigns, involving great sacrifices, without the people's consent. The Constitution put a treaty on the same footing as the law and like the law it must be made public in order that its terms might be respected.

Every nation in turn has sought to secure advantage by means of a secret alliance, and every treaty of alliance solemnly entered into, declaring on the faith of kings that it would be loyally observed, invoking the name of the Most High or the Trinity, in the stilted language of diplomacy as witness to the sincerity of the high contracting parties, has been merely a scrap of paper, made for the advantage of the moment and broken without a qualm of conscience when a greater advantage was to be obtained. That is the stupendous folly of this diplomacy. Similar to the Bourbons who learned nothing and forgot nothing, the necromancers who practised the black art of secret diplomacy forgot everything and profited nothing by experience, otherwise how can one explain that king succeeded king, and minister followed minister, and yet this wretched farce went on, not for a period, not for years, but for centuries, and the tradition has been handed down to our own times; for have we not seen the Autocrat of Prussia and the Autocrat of all the Russias writing to each other in

the language of schoolboys and secretly intriguing against the peace of their neighbors?

Mr. Low calls attention to the distinction between negotiation and consummation in the matter of secret diplomacy. He points out that secret negotiation is not only proper, but in many cases absolutely essential. In fact, if negotiations were not kept secret, few treaties could be concluded and the negotiators would always be hampered. Suppose that the United States wished to acquire a strip of territory or a group of islands having strategic value, would it not be unwise for the Government to proclaim what it was after? If it got it at all, it would probably be forced to pay an extravagant price.

As Mr. Low points out, the essence of a good bargain—and a treaty, it must be remembered, is only another name for a bargain—is secrecy and "a certain skill in affecting indifference." The men who made our Constitution knew this and gave the President power to negotiate treaties, but not to conclude them. In their judgment it was necessary to combine these prime requisites: Secrecy in negotiation, counsel after the negotiations have been concluded, and publicity when the Senate has assented.

Mr. Low concludes his article with an appeal to America to demand as one of the articles of the peace treaty to be signed at the end of the present war, a provision that in every country treaties shall like laws constitute the supreme law of the land, to be ratified by parliaments. Such a provision, he says, would appeal to the democracies of England, France, Italy and Russia and would be championed by the enlightened republics of South America, whose constitutions have been so closely modeled on that of the United States.

It would do more to keep the world safe for democracy than any one other thing. It would be a greater protection against a repetition of the horrors of the last three years than paper disarmaments, theoretical freedom of the seas, leagues of peace, or economic alliances. It would not bring Utopia, but it would make diplomacy honest, straightforward, clean; it would make almost impossible the chicanery, fraud, intrigue that for centuries have deluged Europe in blood and brought misery to its people, and there would be little further opportunity for a Hohenzollern or a Hapsburg, a Ferdinand or a Constantine, to make alliances for war unless with the authority and consent of their subjects.

DEVELOPMENTS IN GAS WARFARE

IT seems only yesterday that the Germans added a new horror to warfare in the shape of poisonous gas, yet already this diabolical weapon has undergone vast developments, at the hands—alas!—of both parties in the great struggle. Major S. J. M. Auld, late professor of agricultural chemistry at University College, Reading, and now attached to the British military mission in this country, recently lectured on "Methods of Gas Warfare" before the Washington Academy of Sciences, and his lecture appears in the Academy's *Journal*. The lecturer began by correcting "the idea that gas is just an incident, and that there is not as much attention being paid to it as there was two years ago." He declared that "the amount that has been and is being hurled back and forth in shells and clouds is almost unbelievable."

I happened to be present at the first gas attack and saw the whole gas business from the beginning. The first attack was made in April, 1915. A deserter had come into the Ypres salient a week before the attack was made, and had told us the whole story. They were preparing to poison us with gas, and had cylinders installed in their trenches. No one believed him at all, and no notice was taken of it.

Then came the first gas attack, and the whole course of the war changed. That first attack, of course, was made against men who were entirely unprepared—absolutely unprotected. You have read quite as much about the actual attack and the battle as I could tell you, but the accounts are still remarkably meager. The fellows who could have told most about it didn't come back. The Germans have claimed that we had 6,000 killed and as many taken prisoners. They left a battlefield such as had never been seen before in warfare, ancient or modern, and one that has had no compeer in the whole war except on the Russian front.

The method first used by the Germans, and retained ever since, is fairly simple, but requires great preparation beforehand. A hole is dug in the bottom of the trench close underneath the parapet, and a gas cylinder is buried in the hole. It is an ordinary cylinder, like that used for oxygen or hydrogen. It is then covered first with a quilt of moss, containing potassium carbonate solution, and then with sand bags. When the attack is to be made the sand bags and protecting cover are taken off the cylinder, and each cylinder is connected with a lead pipe which is bent over the top of the parapet. A sand bag is laid on the nozzle to prevent the back "kick" of the outrushing gas from throwing the pipe back into the trench. Our own methods are practically identical with those first used by the Germans.

Major Auld gives us a detailed history of the use of gas clouds, in which wind and topography are conditions that need to be



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NATIONAL ARMY MEN FACING A GAS ATTACK—IN TRAINING CAMP

(The gas may be seen floating across the trench. The photographer in taking this picture had to be equipped with a mask. Censored and passed by the Committee on Public Information)

most carefully considered; he traces the development of gas masks and helmets from their very primitive prototypes; and he tells how the chlorine of the early attacks was replaced by phosgene, and the concentration of the latter steadily increased.

As regards the future of the gas cloud it may be looked upon as almost finished. There are so many conditions that have to be fulfilled in connection with it that its use is limited. It is very unlikely that the enemy will be able to spring another complete surprise with a gas cloud.

The case is different with gas shells. The gas shells are the most important of all methods of using gas on the Western Front, and are still in course of development. The enemy started using them soon after the first cloud attack. He began with the celebrated "tear" shells. A concentration of one part in a million of some of these lachrymators makes the eyes water severely. The original tear shells contained almost pure xylol bromide or benzyl bromide, made by brominating the higher fractions of coal-tar distillates.

The quantity of gas that can be sent over in shells is small. The average weight in a shell is not more than six pounds, whereas the German gas cylinders contain forty pounds of gas. To put over the same amount of gas as with gas clouds, say in five minutes per thousand yards of front, would require a prohibitive number of guns and shells. It becomes necessary to put the

shells on definite targets, and this, fortunately, the Germans did not realize at the Somme, although they have found it out since.

The use of gas out of a projectile has a number of advantages over its use in a gas cloud. First, it is not so dependent on the wind. Again, the gunners have their ordinary job of shelling, and there is no such elaborate and unwelcome organization to put into the front trenches as is necessary for the cloud. Third, the targets are picked with all the accuracy of artillery fire. Fourth, the gas shells succeed with targets that are not accessible to high explosives or to gas clouds. Take, for instance, a field howitzer, dug into a pit with a certain amount of overhead cover for the men, who come in from behind the gun. The men are safe from splinters and only a direct hit will put the gun out of action. But the gas will go in where the shell would not. It is certain to gas some of the men inside the emplacement. The crew of the gun must go on firing with gas masks on and with depleted numbers. Thus it nearly puts the gun out of commission, reducing the number of shots say from two rounds a minute to a round in two minutes, and may even silence it entirely. Another example is a position on a

hillside with dugouts at the back, just over the crest, or with a sunken road behind the slope. Almost absolute protection is afforded by the dugouts. The French tried three times to take such a position after preparation with high explosives and each assault failed. Then they tried gas shells and succeeded. The gas flows rapidly into such a dugout, especially if it has two or more doors.

The original lachrymatory shells were intended especially to cause annoyance and confusion, but gas-shell tactics have recently undergone great changes, and the aim now is to use substances which will poison as well as annoy.

Up to the present time there has been no material brought out on either side that can be depended on to go through the other fellow's respirator. The casualties are due to surprise or to lack of training in the use of masks. The mask must be put on and adjusted within six seconds, which requires a considerable amount of preliminary training, if it is to be done under field conditions.

INVADED ITALY

UNTIL the last few months Italians have been spared the sad spectacle of the desolation wrought by an invader, but now the country between Italy's northeastern frontier and the defensive line so tenaciously held in the river Piave presents the too familiar conditions that have been pictured to us in accounts from Belgium and northern France. A poetic description of some aspects of this Italian scenic in winter time, from the pen of Signor Antonio Baldini appears in *L'Illustrazione Italiana*.

In the golden and frosty afternoon, the waters of the river Sile seem so limpid, so calm, that no sign of the current can be discovered. The images of the motionless barks, forgotten at their moorings, are reflected clearly and sharply in the water, lending a pleasant tone to the quiet, lonely scene, despite the threat of changing weather.

In the same way, the houses of all the little deserted villages on the banks are so perfectly mirrored, that as compared with the scene reflected in the water, the real scene appears dun and wan. In the absence of their elders the children hold triumphant sway. Boys and girls shod with wooden shoes amuse themselves in the tightly-frozen ditches, with little make-shift wooden sleds, and slide over the greenish ice. Happy age that can find joy at the bottom of a ditch! In the meanwhile the transparent waters of the Sile flow calmly on; and yet the wavelets of this very stream will soon be leaving the battlefields.

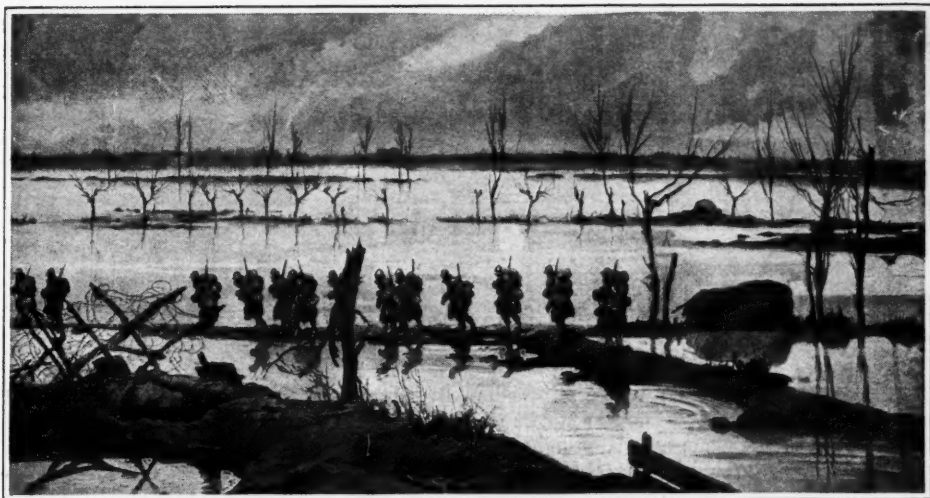
Approaching near to the muddy dikes of the Piave, behold, the scene changes! The land bears

the sad traces of a hasty exodus. The beautiful villas are all abandoned, the houses are as solitary as though they were haunted. From a dike along which runs a muddy cart road, we see that the waters of the inundation which forms part of the defensive system of the lower Piave are for the greater part frozen, and cast back the sun's rays with a frosty glint. The sky which can no longer lend its hues to the dreary scene seems as though indifferent to the things of earth. A heart-rending spectacle in such fair weather as we still have to-day!

It seems as though a curse had suddenly fallen upon the waters between the dikes and the walls, since the icy mirror is all rent and disjointed. The cornstalks crushed by the ice have broken off. All life is suspended as in the depths of a Dantesque inferno. The frozen water reaches half way up the steps of the partly submerged houses. Half-wrecked banks have been seized in the pitiless grip of the glassy expanse, and in the melancholy mists of the horizon the slender tree-trunks look like jets of smoke from far-off explosions mimobilized in mid-air by the nocturnal frost. Through the veil of mist the sun still sends brief flashes of ruddy light, and the earth reflects their rays sadly, as though on the morrow the sun would illumine her no longer.

* * * * *

The chimneys and floorings of the workshops, dairies and factories, emerging from the discolored plain, voice the desolateness of these regions of productive labor whence life has been exiled. Of the houses not one has escaped being reduced to a ruin by the rain of bursting shells. At every cross-road we hear the whizz of machine-gun balls which fly over the flat surface with what sounds like a prolonged wail, the falling walls, the rusting iron work of the struc-



THE PIAVE IN FLOOD

tures, embedded in the ice, are destined to final destruction and disappearance.

Just as the scattered rocks of the Karst plateau seemed to have been created especially for a fighting ground, so here the pitiless ice-fields of the marsh-land looked as though prepared to serve as a dreadful theater of war, particularly under the rays of this blood-red sun. Flocks of birds dart swiftly down from the skies, casting their rapidly moving shadows on the surface.

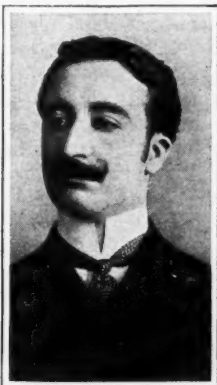
But few human beings are to be seen. Here and there, sheltered by little heaps of muddy earth, are some soldiers sitting patiently on the banks of the frozen shallows strewn with empty cans and stones. At a little distance from the bank three or four soldiers are busying themselves around a hole that has been cut through the ice, evidently hoping to fish out a trout from the water that flows beneath. The ice here is strong enough to bear their weight perfectly.

A CUBAN STATESMAN OF ITALIAN BIRTH

THE hearty welcome extended to Italians in Spanish-speaking countries is illustrated by the fact that the President of the Cuban Chamber of Deputies, Prof. Oreste Ferrara, is of Italian birth. A brief account of his career is given by Signor Augusto Castaldo in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome).

Professor Ferrara has lived in Cuba for the past twenty years. He left Italy to offer his services to the cause of Cuban independence. His first intention had been to go to the aid of the revolutionists in the island of Candia who were fighting to throw off the Turkish yoke, but when he learned that they had concluded an armistice with the Turks his enthusiasm for them was chilled, and he was led to

look upon the revolt in Candia as little more than an outbreak due to literary sentimentalism.



PRESIDENT FERRARA OF
THE CUBAN CHAMBER
OF DEPUTIES

The Cuban insurrection, on the other hand, seemed to be the assertion of a people's social rights against a crushing foreign domination. Candia represented for him only a historic part, while Cuba held out the prospect of a brilliant future; and in 1896 he left Italy for the distant island. He was then but twenty years old and full of ardor, and he suffered many hardships for the cause in the closing period of the insurrection.

After the conclusion of the war between the United States and Spain, and the organization of the Cuban Republic, Ferrara became a provincial governor,

having first served a short time as secretary to one of the holders of this office. In 1904 he was elected to the chair of Common Law in the University of Havana. His first period of service as President of the Chamber

of Deputies dates from 1908; in 1911 he was again chosen and, after having been replaced in this office for a brief time in 1913, he was elected for a third term—an unusual mark of confidence.

"THE CHARLES SCHWAB OF FRANCE"

AN interesting account of the industrial re-birth of France during the war is contributed by Mr. Isaac F. Marcossion to the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for February 9. Several of the newer French captains of industry whose self-made success has duplicated the familiar stories of Carnegie, Frick, Schwab, and Westinghouse, are briefly characterized by Mr. Marcossion. To them the war has meant opportunity. A remarkable example of this rapid rise to industrial leadership is afforded by the career of André Citroën, who five years ago was a manufacturer of gears in a small way.

A native of Paris, he had been educated at a technical school, had served a practical apprenticeship at the bench, and was just getting launched into business when the war broke out. He was a reservist and at once joined the colors. After the Battle of the Marne, in which he took part, the French Government suddenly found that it needed shells in immense quantities. Citroën got three days' leave of absence from his colonel, went to the War Office and said: "If the government will give me a contract I will produce more shells than any individual in France."

Citroën, says Mr. Marcossion, is a born salesman. At any rate he persuaded the Ordnance Department to sign a contract with him at once for an output of 50,000 shells a day. Armed with this contract, he borrowed 1,000,000 francs from a bank. He then engaged the best shopman and the shrewdest practical financier he could find in France. Both these men could speak English, and he sent them at once to the United States with these instructions: "Buy all the machinery you can lay hands on, and get it on the water as soon as possible. If there is any delay in shipping equipment to New York by freight, send it by express." As Mr. Marcossion says, "This is the brand of talk that Harriman or Frick or Henry Ford might have indulged in when faced with such an emergency. It takes an added meaning when you realize

that it was uttered by a Frenchman under thirty-five just embarking on his first big venture."

Citroën's instructions were followed to the letter. With headquarters on lower Broadway in New York his envoys scoured the country for machinery, and in more than one case an automatic machine was rushed from Bridgeport or Philadelphia to New York by express. Meanwhile, almost within the shadow of the Eiffel Tower, land had been leased and ground broken for factories. On April 1, 1915, Citroën was turning out 1000 shells a day. When Mr. Marcossion visited his plant in October, 1917, 9500 men and women were employed and were producing 50,000 shells a day.

When you meet this Charles Schwab of France you are in contact with the liveliest industrial wire in the country. He is small, keen, alert, a bundle of energy—a walking factory of ideas. He speaks English fluently. He is at his desk at eight o'clock in the morning; has his lunch with the heads of his departments on a raised platform overlooking his eating thousands.

One day he sent me a telegram deferring an engagement several hours. When I saw him he explained the reason for the postponement, saying: "I went to the funeral of one of my oldest workmen."

Citroën finds time to be human.

Mr. Marcossion asked Citroën what he would do with his great factory when the war was over. Without the slightest hesitation he answered: "I shall make cheap motor cars in what you Americans call quantity output, provided, of course, the government does not tax me to death." Mr. Marcossion thinks, however, that Citroën's fears about taxation are hardly justified. The French people are constitutionally opposed to paying taxes, and a drastic tax would merely bring on trouble. The government is not likely to impose excessive taxation after the war. The people are willing to buy national bonds and thus employ their money at a fair rate of interest.



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A MODERN STREET SCENE IN BETHLEHEM

YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY IN BETHLEHEM

THE swords of the English have rent asunder the veil which the Turks had cast over Palestine and its inhabitants, and the letters which are beginning to come from the homefolks there to their relatives here in America reveal the terrible conditions which have been lived through day after day since the war began. Wave after wave of sickness has passed over that unhappy land as though a consuming fire were at work, added to the terror of what might come which drove sleep from their eyes and banished contentment.

Letters which have come recently from various parts of the liberated land, published in an Arabic paper, *Meraat-ul-Gharb*, of New York, show how wide the difference is between to-day and yesterday and how great is the joy which fills the hearts of the people since the English entered that land. Tears of joy have replaced those of sorrow and fear, which were the daily portion during the Turkish régime.

To quote from one of the letters, dated Bethlehem:

We were straitened at first as regards money

and the stoppage of all industries, together with the raising of the interest on loans altogether out of proportion, so that in 1915 the lira was worth six times its usual amount. This was followed by the issuance of paper banknotes, which almost instantly began to fall, until a lira was not worth but five piastres. A rot of meat (about 6 pounds) sold for two liras, and a measure of wheat for ten. We spent for nothing but essentials in our home, five thousand Napoleons. The poor searched the garbage piles beside the road to get the peelings of melons and oranges to eat. Many of them died by the wayside, their bodies being destroyed by the animals. This suffering was followed by the government cutting off the supply of wheat, and for three years we were not given enough to last us one week.

Exemption from military service was fixed at fifty liras per capita, but in 1915 it was changed to that amount for one year only, not for the duration of the war, as at first. Then we paid thirty liras, and early in 1917 they called out the exempted between the ages of twenty and thirty years, and among the first was one of our family, refusing to take the exemption tax and in spite of our entreaties he was taken and kept in prison ten days while we went back and forth using all the influence in our power to get his release. Finally, we were told that if we would send to the government 4500 kilos of barley he would be exempted for one year only. We sent the barley, for which we paid 550 liras, and took him out in

the middle of the night and brought him to Bethlehem. Another of our family paid as much for his exemption, and then had to spend two months cutting down olive trees in Bethlehem for the railroad.

The government used the Christians and Arabs to drive the camels carrying the wood, and often they were compelled to bear on their own backs heavy loads for their taskmasters. Many of the children of the notables were forced to carry on their shoulders the telegraph poles from Jerusalem to Beersheba, to be greeted upon their arrival, staggering under their burdens, with "Here are the asses."

Many of our friends were exiled, and we expected our summons momentarily, and but for the advent of the British we would have been sent away, for we had been notified to be ready on a certain day; but before it dawned, the officer who gave us notice was in flight himself before the English, and we were saved.

In 1915 cholera swept through our little town and many died. And each week we were obliged to care for our quota of soldiers. Our wheat and oil we buried in the ground, for the searchers would enter the house and search for food.

On the 11th of January, General Mott paid a surprise visit to Bethlehem. No intimation had been received of his coming, but the church bells soon announced his presence in the town. The people began to assemble in the square before the government building, literally dancing with joy. Those on the house-tops showered the victors with

perfumes and roses, while the band played patriotic airs. The General visited the holy places with his staff, and received addresses in Arabic and English in praise of the work the British are doing in Palestine.

Two days later, General Allenby came unannounced, but he received a greater and even more enthusiastic ovation. After visiting the holy places, he received the spiritual heads in the government square with democratic, English simplicity.

Self-government has been instituted in Bethlehem under Colonel Camp, with full powers of governing excepting in military matters. Postal service was resumed to-day, and in a short time trade will pick up as soon as commodities can get here. The future of our land is great. Work has begun on the roads, and new railroads are being built. We are now in the land of the living.

It is little wonder that the writer resorted to exaggeration in attempting to describe the overwhelming joy at the coming of the British: "The very ground danced for joy as the British entered the city to set at liberty those who were bound, and to bring those in darkness out into the light. Those blessed English, coming to release us from tyranny and oppression, that we might enjoy English justice!"

THE RICH OIL SHALES OF COLORADO, UTAH, WYOMING, AND NEVADA

FOR some years experts have been writing pessimistically about the depletion of our national fuel resources. Constantly increasing demands and wasteful methods of mining and utilization seem to set the limit of our coal supply at a distance of not more than two or three centuries; and the case of petroleum is even worse. Gasoline, a product of petroleum, is becoming a more and more costly necessity. What will our grandchildren do when the coal and petroleum give out? And (a more pressing question) how are we ourselves to keep the cost of these commodities from soaring?

Mr. G. E. Mitchell, of the United States Geological Survey, answers these questions in the *National Geographic Magazine*, and the answer is sure to be greeted with nationwide enthusiasm. He says:

We have made a discovery that has disclosed what is undoubtedly one of our greatest mineral

resources—one that should supply the needs of the war, and that for generations to come will enable the United States to maintain its supremacy over the rest of the world as a producer of crude oil and gasoline and incidentally of ammonia as a highly valuable by-product. We have discovered that we possess mountain ranges of rock that will yield billions of barrels of oil. For many years travelers going west through the Grand River Valley of Colorado and into the great Uinta Basin of eastern Utah have looked from the windows of their Pullman cars on the far-stretched miles and miles of the Book Cliff Mountains, little realizing that in these and the adjoining mountains, plainly exposed to view, lay the greatest oil reservoir in the country—the oil shales of Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, and Nevada.

From recent investigations of the Geological Survey it appears that our oil shales are far richer than those of Scotland, where the shale-oil industry has long competed successfully with the petroleum industry and pays annual dividends averaging 18 per cent.

To extract the oil, the rock is distilled at a low

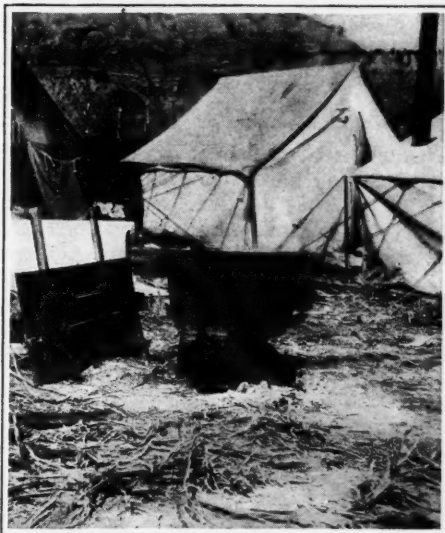
temperature. So simple is the process that the geologists who surveyed the fields carried small testing retorts around from place to place to determine the oil content of various specimens. In the Scotch plants the rock is heated in retorts arranged in banks of four over a single fire-box, and a unique feature of the process is that the gas derived from the shale is the fuel used for obtaining the oil and other products. The retorts are grouped in benches of sixty-four and each retort reduces about four tons of rock a day. Some 3,000,000 tons are treated annually. The vapors pass from the retorts into condensers in which the crude oil is deposited, and then on into a chamber in which the ammonia is deposited. The Scotch shales yield gasoline, illuminating, lubricating and other oils, paraffine wax, and sulphate of ammonia, besides a considerable quantity of liquid fuel and the gas that is used in the plants.

If the discovery and exploitation of the petroleum fields of this country constitutes one of the most sensational chapters in American history, what are we to say of Mr. Mitchell's announcement that "the quantity of oil that can be extracted from the shale is so huge that the petroleum reserve becomes almost insignificant by comparison"? Down to the year 1918 the United States produced 4,255,000,000 barrels of petroleum, and the amount still available—some of it lying very deep in the ground—is estimated at 7,000,000,000 barrels. From recent explorations it appears that the mountains of Colorado, alone, are able to yield 36,000,000,000 barrels of shale oil!

The Geological Survey also estimates that 300,000,000 tons of sulphate of ammonia, worth, at before-the-war prices, about \$60 a ton, could be recovered as a by-product in the extraction of the oil. This by-product would be sufficient to enrich most of the farms in the great Mississippi Valley.

Preliminary examination indicates that Utah is no less rich in oil shales than Colorado; that there are extensive deposits in Nevada, Wyoming, California, and Montana, and that some of the Eastern States, also, possess more or less valuable deposits.

Until recently the oil shales of the United States, particularly those of the Western States, have been referred to by the Government geologists as a reserve available for extraction whenever the demand and the price shall become great enough to warrant the establishment of a new industry to supplement the supply from the petroleum fields. This time is now at hand. The extraordinary demands of the war are already indicating the approaching insufficiency of the output from our petroleum fields, and experiments in the utilization of oil shale are already being



Photograph from U. S. Geological Survey

WASH-DAY IN A GEOLOGICAL SURVEY CAMP—CHUNKS OF OIL SHALE ARE SUPPLYING THE HEAT FOR THE CAMP LAUNDRY

made in Colorado. Plants are being erected, oil is being distilled, processes are being tested, and a steadily increasing output is soon to be expected. So substantial is this resource considered that the Government has set aside as a special reserve for the American Navy 132,000 acres of the richest oil-shale land in the West.

"Beware of fake promoters," warns Mr. Mitchell. A golden opportunity is opened up by these discoveries for the get-rich-quick schemers, who have always found "oil fields" a particularly lucrative outlet for their energies.

It is not to be understood that any farmer or rancher who may happen to have oil shale on his homestead can produce oil at a profit. Successful oil distillation will require large and expensive plants, well financed and scientifically managed, as in any other large industry. It is by no means a poor man's proposition; but neither, on the other hand, is it a highly complex and involved industry, such, for instance, as beet-sugar manufacture, while the fact that oil distillation is well established in other countries is tremendously to the advantage of prospective development in the United States.

While the Germans are supplementing their stock of petroleum and gasoline by laboriously raising potatoes from which to distil alcohol, Mr. Mitchell assures us that here in America there are mountains of oil rock which can be blasted and steam-shovelled and transported by gravity to great retorts which will turn out oil and fertilizer in unlimited quantities.

A LEGISLATURE THAT WORKS

IN connection with the activities of the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota, the recent special session of the legislature of that State is of peculiar interest. The work of this session is summarized by Mr. John T. Frederick in the *New Republic* (New York) for February 23. Mr. Frederick writes with the conviction that the farmers of that part of the country will feel renewed confidence in the Nonpartisan League because of what was accomplished.

A serious economic condition had resulted from the fact that there had been two successive crop failures in the western and central portions of North Dakota. In 1916 the wheat crop was destroyed by black rust; in 1917 all crops, including even fodder, were almost completely a failure in that region on account of drought. In those localities where the loss was not total, only a small fraction of the normal crop was harvested.

Two bad years in succession had driven most of the farmers in the newer parts of the State to a condition of desperation in the matter of credit. Most of these men had purchased their farms with borrowed money, and had then re-mortgaged them to the limit of their value. But as this did not prove sufficient they had made their personal property the basis for yet additional credit. At the beginning of 1918, a year in which the nation demands increased production of all farmers, many of these in North Dakota had mortgaged land, horses, cattle, and even farming implements to the last dollar of their value. They had no seed grain and had almost exhausted feed for their stock. Retail stores in that part of the country, unlike those in the South, usually operate on a cash basis. In order to buy groceries and clothing for their families many farmers were compelled to sell their scanty supplies of grain.

Usually North Dakota raises one-seventh of the country's wheat. In this year, when

the maximum wheat crop is called for, the farmers of the State are eager to do their full share; but even to seed a normal acreage they must have both seed-grain for sowing and feed for their work horses. Thousands lack both of these commodities and have nothing to offer in exchange for them except liens on the unsowed crop.

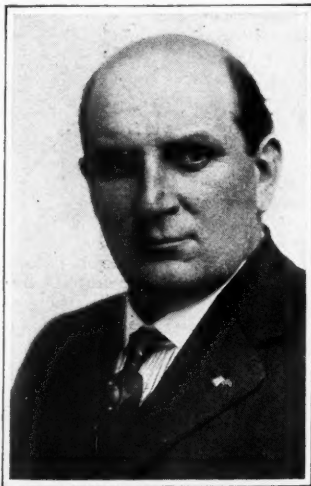
How could these needy farmers get an extension of credit and thus be enabled to do their share in the nation's war work for the year? They were already owing the

local banks quite as much as the State Bankers' Association thought justifiable under present conditions. When they applied to the Federal Government for aid, Congress was unable to assure them any substantial relief, and the recently created system of land banks could do no more than to give them somewhat better terms, instead of adding to the credit that they already have.

In the absence of Federal relief, Governor Lynn J. Frazier, who had been elected to office by the farmers through the agency of the Nonpartisan League, summoned the State Legislature to deal with the

emergency as it might. Within three days after assembling, the lower house adopted a measure to enable the counties where need exists to issue bonds and lend the proceeds to farmers on their personal notes, payable at harvest time. The amount allowed each farmer will be decided by the County Commissioners on the basis of affidavits as to the number of acres he will seed, and the amount of seed and feed he has on hand.

The State Commissioner of Agriculture will supervise the distribution of seed to the counties where needed, seeing to it that pure seed is furnished to the farmers at the lowest possible cash prices. No county can assume an obligation amounting to more than 5 per cent. of the assessed valuation of its property. In the districts where relief is needed, the new law will make available from \$6,000,000 to \$7,000,000.



GOVERNOR LYNN J. FRAZIER OF
NORTH DAKOTA

AMERICA AND IRISH HOME RULE

AN editorial article in the *London Spectator* (February 2) comments on the American attitude towards the so-called self-determination of Northeast Ulster. The editor remarks advisedly in reference to a recent attempt in a section of the English press to bring pressure upon the people of Northeast Ulster to make them abandon their position under the threat that if they do not do so they will imperil the alliance with America, that neither the American Government nor the American people have the slightest intention of deserting at the bidding of Irish-American politicians the great cause to which they are pledged. "The notion of President Wilson or Congress attempting to dictate the terms upon which we are to modify a British Act of Parliament—i. e., the Act of Union—is unthinkable. They would no more do that than we should attempt to force Congress to pass a new constitutional amendment."

Quite apart from questions of international comity, the editor feels certain that the American people would never on the merits of the question attempt any such pressure upon Ulster as has been suggested. "It happens that the American people are acquainted not only with the facts of the particular case, but with the tone and temper of Irish politics and Irish politicians. What is more, they happen to have had in their previous history experiences of a constitutional situation exactly like that which exists in Ireland, and these experiences make them specially well qualified to judge rightly and justly the position of Northeast Ulster."

The instance to which the editor of the *Spectator* refers is the creation of the State of West Virginia by the partition of old Virginia during our Civil War. President Lincoln at that time put the following questions:

By the way, in what consists the special sacredness of a State? . . . I speak of that assumed primary right of a State to rule all which is less than itself, and ruin all which is larger than itself. . . . On what rightful principle may a State, being not more than one-fiftieth part of the nation in soil and population, break up the nation and then coerce a proportionally larger subdivision of itself in the most arbitrary way? What mysterious right to play tyrant is conferred on a district of country, with its people, by merely calling it a State?

In the *Spectator's* opinion these words of April—7



IN SUSPENSE

THE IRISH ANDROMEDA (gazing wanly at her various champions in convention): "If these gentlemen would come to some early agreement for relieving the situation it would greatly conduce to my comfort."

From *Punch* (London)

Lincoln fit the Irish problem of to-day exactly. But Lincoln did not leave the matter at this point. He dealt with it practically as well as dialectically. The editor proceeds to quote the argument made by Lincoln when the ratification of the action of the counties of Virginia to constitute the new State was being discussed, and when many men's minds were frightened by the word "partition."

Can this Government stand, if it indulges Constitutional constructions by which men in open rebellion against it are to be accounted, man for man, the equals of those who maintain their loyalty to it? Are they to be accounted even better citizens, and more worthy of consideration, than those who merely neglect to vote? If so, their treason against the Constitution enhances their Constitutional value! . . . It is said, the devil takes care of his own. Much more should a good spirit—the Spirit of the Constitution and the Union—take care of his own. I think it cannot do less and live. . . . Doubtless those in remaining Virginia would return to the Union, so to speak, less reluctantly without the division of the old State than with it, but I think we could not save as much in this quarter by rejecting the new State, as we should lose by it in West Virginia. We can scarcely dispense with the aid of

West Virginia in this struggle; much less can we afford to have her against us, in Congress and in the field. Her brave and good men regard her admission into the Union as a matter of life and death. They have been true to the Union under very severe trials. We have so acted as to justify their hopes, and we cannot fully retain their confidence, and cooperation, if we seem to break faith with them. In fact, they could

not do so much for us, if they would. . . . The division of a State is dreaded as a precedent. But a measure made expedient by a war is no precedent for times of peace. It is said that the admission of West Virginia is secession, and tolerated only because it is our secession. Well, if we call it by that name, there is still difference enough between secession against the Constitution, and secession in favor of the Constitution.

A FRENCH VIEW OF AMERICAN FINANCIAL STRENGTH

IN a comprehensive article on American finance which he contributes to the *Revue des deux Mondes* M. Lewandowsky considers the subject under four headings:

I. FINANCIAL RESOURCES

The writer considers the exports and imports of the three-year period beginning on July 1, 1914, and ending on June 30, 1917. He finds that in the third year the excess of exports over imports was three and one-half times greater than in the first, the excess for the entire period being \$6,864,000. Her estimated gold balance of \$3,000,000,000 placed the United States in the lead in relation to the world's banking. Even before the United States had entered the war on a military basis there had already been "a financial coöperation effective between America and Europe, an association in fact based on a very clear understanding of reciprocal interests."

The writer then alludes to the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, which centralized our banking system and made it more elastic and similar to the European system. This law facilitated the establishment of branch banks in foreign countries and thus insured the expansion of American commerce.

II. THE PROGRAM OF AMERICAN EXPANSION

Whatever part the United States is to play in acquiring a great foreign commerce will be the result of a well-organized, methodical campaign. Not only will American capital have a large part in the reconstruction of Europe after the war, but the South American countries will greatly benefit. As an outcome of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States naturally assumes leadership, as it is giving financial support to South America, although previous to this time a greater amount of capital had been supplied by Europe. The United States to-day sends rail-

road supplies, iron, steel, and textiles to South America and will in all likelihood hold most of this trade after the war.

To compensate herself, France must endeavor to supplant Germany in commerce, industry, and finance in the United States. Such a Franco-American alliance will protect common interests against German aggression after the war. This writer urges France to unite with the United States in order to retain its commercial hold in South America.

III. FOR AFTER-WAR BUSINESS

American banks are establishing credit in all the great foreign centers, particularly in South America. The Buenos Aires branch of the National City Bank of New York has a department in which samples of American goods are shown. The First National Bank of Boston, representing a great group of New England industries has also entered the South American field. It is said that since the beginning of the war seventy out of every one hundred business transactions in Latin America have been on a dollar, not a pound sterling, basis. The National City Bank has extended its operations still further and now controls the International Banking Corporation with agencies in China, Japan, India, Manila, Panama, Mexico, and London.

American packers have been established for some time on the Rio de la Plata and the American International Corporation, with a capital of \$50,000,000, is designed to undertake all kinds of business from engineering to commercial enterprises.

IV. FRANCO-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING

The writer repeatedly urges that France should endeavor to establish "a collaboration of men, ideas, and capital between the United States and France." He believes that such a union is peculiarly suitable because

we (the French) have in truth a better psychology of business in foreign countries, especially with those for whom we have racial affinities; because we possess the gift of making our ideas, our art, our civilization penetrate—as well as our capital.

The great public works in South America and throughout the world begun with French capital, must be finished or carried on after the war by the joint efforts of France and the United States, for France will not be able to maintain these projects alone.

Though France must leave the foreign field for a time—during the reconstruction period—it should reap the fruits it has previously sowed and be given business hitherto absorbed by Germany. A practical way out of this difficulty seems to lie in collaboration with its more fortunate associate, the United

States, on the understanding that in return for an interest in French business already established American capital shall be furnished. This coöperation is not adverse to the spirit of American business to-day, which does not desire to benefit by the misfortunes of others, but on the contrary wishes to take its place beside other great nations in world trade and finance.

In this writer's view, then, the rôle of the United States after the war will be the utilization of capital as a powerful means of world influence. The rapid growth of a great foreign business can only be successful if it avails itself of those forces already in the field—the great French and English houses that have built up a successful business after years of toil and experience.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN WARRING EUROPE

A REMARKABLE chapter of the current Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, prepared by Mr. W. S. Jesien, of the Division of Foreign Education, deals with the recent history and present condition of the schools of the belligerent countries of Europe as affected by the war. The gist of the chapter is to the effect that, in spite of material losses and temporary disturbances, education has, on the whole, received a striking impetus and has undergone important developments that might have been long deferred if the war had not happened. We can give here only brief fragments of this interesting article (Chapter IV of the first volume of the report for 1917), the whole of which is commendable to the attention of persons who are in quest of data to support the thesis that the war is by no means an unmitigated calamity:

A world-wide movement to perfect the whole scheme of public education is resulting from the war. The fact that this movement is being carried forward even while the nations are engaged in the exhausting conflict shows the changed conception of the social worth of education. The time is past when education could be considered a national luxury; it is now regarded as a primary necessity of national life, and the most striking illustrations of this new conception are offered by the events that have taken place during the present war.

France and England are engaged in a simultaneous reorganization of their respective systems of public education, and the continuation school

projects now pending in the parliaments at Paris and London are essentially identical. They both introduce universal compulsory continuation schooling of general and vocational character. The English bill provides, in addition, for an extension and perfection of elementary school compulsion.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

Mr. Herbert Fisher's education bill, introduced in the British House of Commons on August 10, 1917, provides, among other things, for universal compulsory continued education from the completion of the elementary school course to the age of eighteen. Mr. Jesien records this as a "momentous event," since few nations have hitherto extended school compulsion beyond the elementary school.

The period of compulsory continuation education commences with the time of leaving the elementary school and extends to the age of eighteen. The minimum requirement is 320 hours in a year, or eight hours per week, with the provision that this may be increased by the board of education after five years of the operation of the system, subject to the approval of the Parliament. The instruction in continuation schools must be given in daytime, not after 7 P. M. or before 8 A. M., and the persons attending such schools who are employed must have the necessary time taken out from the hours of their employment. The continuation schools will not be in session on Sunday or on any recognized holiday. The compulsion does not apply to young persons who have received satisfactory full-time education up to the

age of sixteen or who have passed a university matriculation examination. Instruction is to be physical, vocational, and general.

In France compulsory continuation education is provided, in a pending bill, for boys to the age of twenty and for girls to the age of eighteen; the classes to be held on working days and preferably outside of working hours. Physical training is to be given on Sundays. During a part of the continuation course the instruction will occupy 300 hours a year, and during the remainder 200 hours. The requirements do not apply to youths who are pursuing studies of a higher grade than those in the continuation schools.

GERMANY, RUSSIA, AND POLAND

In Germany the "Einheitschule" movement, aiming at a democratization of the school system of that country, has made most important progress during the war. In Russia new schools are being organized everywhere. In Italy the elementary system is undergoing extension, and provision has been made for instruction of illiterate adults.

Of special interest in this connection are the events that have taken place in Poland since its evacuation by the old Russian bureaucratic machine. The first use the Poles made of their temporary freedom was to introduce compulsory elementary school attendance, nonexistent under the old régime. New schools were established with such zeal that in one year (1915-16) the number of schools increased by 47 per cent. In Warsaw alone 400 new elementary schools and forty-seven industrial continuation schools were established in that year.

In addition to the present activities, extensive plans for educational reconstruction and reforms after the war are under consideration in all the warring countries. In these plans several features appear with striking similarity in the different countries. It is, for example, the consensus of educational opinion that improvement must be sought in technical and vocational education, in modern languages and commercial subjects, in physical and character training.

LANGUAGES OF "ENEMY" NATIONS

The short-sighted policy of eliminating "enemy" languages from public education, now prevailing in some parts of the United States, appears to have made no appreciable progress in Europe, on either side of the battle line. In Great Britain the Modern Language Association says:

It is not possible to give any exact forecast of the commercial relations of England and Germany after the war, but whatever form they may assume there is no doubt that a knowledge of German and German conditions will be required for commercial purposes. In the future it will be

even more necessary than in the past that there shall be in responsible quarters people possessing an adequate knowledge of German and all that the study of German in the widest sense should imply. . . . The study of German has inevitably suffered during the war, but we are of opinion that to allow any further diminution to take place, or even to accept the present reduced scale as permanent, would be to the national disadvantage.

The German attitude in this matter is said to be represented by the following quotation from the *Mannheim Gazette*:

The modern languages occupy a prominent position in our real schools and higher real schools (*Oberrealschulen*). No narrow minds will demand their curtailment because of our unpleasant experience with the French and the English. On the contrary, the knowledge of these languages is absolutely necessary to us, especially that of English. Ignorance of a foreign language or of a foreign nation is not an element of strength, but of weakness. Besides, Germany has no intention of isolating herself from the rest of the world when the war is over. She does not want to wage war after the war. She strives more than ever to penetrate into the world. . . . The modern languages ought to be given more, not less, time than heretofore.

The study of Russian has made marked progress in Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany.

Notable developments in Germany include the extensive employment of women teachers to replace men called to war. The authorities make it clear, however, that this is only a temporary expedient. Another war measure has been the sending of German school children from cities to the country, where the food problem is less acute and where the older children can assist in light agricultural tasks.

THE SITUATION IN BELGIUM

Elaborate provision has been made by the Belgian Government for the instruction of Belgian refugee children in France and other countries.

The part of Belgium under the German occupation was made dependent for its educational development upon the German authorities. The four Belgian universities are closed, the students having refused to attend them until the country is free from the invader. The professors have also refused, in spite of repeated German entreaties, to give instruction to the young men left in the country, who would thus enjoy an undeserved advantage over those serving in the trenches.

Elementary and secondary schools are open, but in reduced numbers, owing to military occupation of a great number of school buildings.

THE NEW BOOKS

THE WAR AND ALLIED TOPICS

History of the World War. By Frank H. Simonds. 5 vols. Ill. Vol. I., 445 pp. Vol. II., 442 pp. Review of Reviews Company.

For three years and a half Mr. Simonds has pictured the successive phases of the world war for REVIEW OF REVIEWS readers. His monthly articles in this magazine have been read in every continent. No writer on the war has won more general acceptance among the English-speaking peoples. It is, therefore, a matter of compelling interest that Mr. Simonds has undertaken the writing of an independent history of the war, the second volume of which is now ready, while the third is in preparation. This is a wholly new work; no attempt has been made to utilize in it the voluminous material contributed to this magazine, although a book might easily have been made up from that material. In the "History" the war is treated as a whole, and not as a series of episodes. The author's remarkable powers of coordination and synthesis—gifts of the gods to every historian whose work is to have enduring quality—are brought into full play. Long before the United States had entered the war, Mr. Simonds had been recognized as one of the most accurate and intelligent interpreters of the political as well as the military developments of the conflict. Now that the part to be taken by this country has become so vital a factor in the outcome, it is almost imperative that the historian of the war should be equipped with a thorough knowledge of American aims and sentiment. This special equipment Mr. Simonds, as an experienced American journalist, possesses in ample measure.

The entire work will occupy five volumes. In the first two volumes the narrative covers the two phases of the war represented, respectively, by the Marne and the German repulse of Russia. The third will include Verdun. All important military operations, on whatever front, as well as naval actions, are treated in detail, but the purpose of the history comprehends far more than a mere record of military movements. It deals broadly with the political aspects of the war.

Besides its account of land battles, the second volume has interesting chapters on the naval operations of the war, "Sea Power and the German Place in the Sun," and the submarines. Graphic accounts of sea service are contributed by Rudyard Kipling, Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, and Henry Reuter dahl. John P. Holland, Jr., describes "The Inception and Development of the Submarine Boat"; J. Malcolm Bird writes on "American Invention and the War," Lord Northcliffe on "The Army Behind the Army," Surgeon General Gorgas on the conquest of disease by armies. Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis on "The Atrocities of Germany," Major Stanley Washburn on German and Russian operations in

Galicia, Samuel G. Blythe on the Grand Duke Nicholas, William C. Dreher on General von Hindenburg, and H. J. Elliot on Ludendorff, Mackensen, and von Falkenhayn.

The work is well supplied with maps and illustrations. In each volume Mr. Simonds' text is followed by a series of chapters by authoritative writers on particular topics related to the central theme. The history is published by the Review of Reviews Company and sold by subscription as advertised in this number.

True Stories of the Great War. Edited by Francis Trevelyan Miller. 6 vols. Ill. 360 pp. each. Review of Reviews Company.

The narrators of these 200 stories are either direct participants in the actual fighting—officers, soldiers, dispatch-riders, aviators, marines, submarine officers, sailors, raiders, or scouts—or staff observers, nurses, secret service men, diplomats, ambulance drivers, refugees, and others who have had personal contact with some of the war's varied phases. A rich fund of human experience has been drawn on to fill these volumes. The writers who have come to fame since the war began—Donald Hankey, Ian Hay, Arthur Guy Empey, and many more—are represented here, through the generous coöperation of their publishers, and at the same time the unknown soldier or sailor who had no claim to the world's attention save that he had a thrilling story to tell, has his chance here to tell it, and his place in the democracy of letters by the side of Pierre Loti.

First Call. By Arthur Guy Empey. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 369 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Sergeant Empey's earlier book, "Over the Top," together with the lectures that he has delivered throughout the country, has made him known everywhere as an American soldier who saw a year and a half of actual fighting on the Western front before the United States had come into the war. He fell wounded in No Man's Land, but is now doing, perhaps, as useful service for the cause of the Allies as if he were still in the trenches, for he is pointing out to American soldiers the things that they will have to know in order to wage effective warfare in France. "First Call" is made up of information and suggestions that are vital to the soldiers' success, but have been largely overlooked or minimized in other war books. There are also helpful chapters addressed to the mothers of the boys and the folks at home.

The New Spirit of the New Army. By Joseph H. Odell. Revell. 121 pp. 75 cents.

A message fresh from the American training camps, telling the people at home what kind of life the boys in the camps are living and what

their environment is. Dr. Odell puts stress on the value of the camps as "builders of moral as well as physical stamina." In short, Dr. Odell looks upon the expenditure thus far made on the camps as "the best investment in citizenship the country could have made." Secretary Baker commends the book in an introduction.

Under Four Flags for France. George Clarke Musgrave. D. Appleton & Co. 364 pp. Ill. \$2.

Captain Musgrave is one of the few writers on the war who have even attempted to keep a perspective. The basis of the present volume is personal observation on the battle-ground since the outbreak of hostilities, supplemented by statements gathered for three years from the trenches, hospitals, prisoner convoys and neutral points close to the enemy's frontier. The result is a connected narrative of the war, chiefly from the French standpoint. Captain Musgrave is now with the American troops in France.

Who was Responsible for the War? The Verdict of History. By Senator Tommaso Tittoni. Preface by Nelson Gay. Bloud & Gay: Paris, 3, Rue Garoncière.

This little book contains English translations of addresses by Senator Tommaso Tittoni, formerly Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Italian Ambassador to Paris. The addresses were delivered during the years 1915 and 1916 and cover in detail the diplomatic developments leading up to the entrance of Italy into the war.

The Lost Naval Papers. By Bennet Copplestone. E. P. Dutton & Co. 286 pp. \$1.50.

A series of exciting spy stories involving the contest between the British and German Secret Services since the outbreak of the war.

Maple Leaves in Flanders Fields. By Herbert Rae. E. P. Dutton & Co. 268 pp. \$1.75.

All the names employed in this work (including the author's) are fictitious, but the formation, organization, training and early experiences at the front of the first Canadian contingent are graphically related. There is an introduction by Admiral Sir Albert Markham.

Camion Letters. From American College Men. Henry Holt & Co. 100 pp. \$1.

The personal experiences (almost unique among publications of this kind) of a man who has served at the front, and yet has never been "over the top." It is something new to hear from the volunteer drivers of munition transports in France. The simple, straightforward narratives in these letters give ample evidence of one who reads between the lines of the dangers to which the drivers were exposed, and of the heroic achievements of these young Americans who joined the Field Service in France last year expecting to be put in charge of ambulances, but later found a field of great usefulness in driving "camions," as the munition trucks are called.

Deductions from the World War. By Baron Von Freytag-Loringhoven. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 212 pp. \$1.25.

The greatest living exponent of Prussian mili-

tarism is Lieutenant-General Baron Von Freytag-Loringhoven, Deputy Chief of the German Imperial Staff. This book was written by him primarily for German consumption, but it expresses so accurately the aims of the German military caste, looking forward to the future beyond the conclusion of the present struggle, that it has been thought worthy of translation into English.

Two War Years in Constantinople. By Dr. Harry Stuermer. George H. Doran Company. 292 pp. \$1.50.

In the years 1915-1916, Dr. Harry Stuermer was the Constantinople correspondent of one of the most important German papers, the *Kölnische Zeitung*. During that time he became convinced of the inherent iniquity of German aims in Turkey, and in this volume he expresses his indignation.

Alsace-Lorraine. By Daniel Blumenthal. With an introduction by Douglas William Johnson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 60 pp. Ill. 75 cents.

The author of this little book was formerly Deputy from Strassburg in the German Reichstag, Senator from Alsace-Lorraine, and Mayor of the city of Colmar. An Alsatian by birth, he presents the claims of his fellow-citizens. Professor Douglas W. Johnson, of Columbia University, states in an introduction to the book that its author has been condemned to death eight times and now carries sentences aggregating more than five hundred years of penal servitude imposed by the German Government, because of his advocacy of the cause of the so-called "lost provinces" before the world.

Germany in War Time. By Mary Ethel McAuley. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company. 297 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

What an American girl saw and heard during two years spent in Germany in the course of the war.

Trapped in Black Russia. By Ruth Pierce. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 150 pp. \$1.35.

Certain volumes of unpretentious letters are among the most acceptable books relating to matters connected with the war. Mrs. Pierce went with her husband, the agent of an American business corporation, to Bulgaria, thence to Kiev, in 1914. In 1915 she was arrested by the Russian authorities and imprisoned for six weeks for writing a letter home describing the horrors of a Jewish detention camp. This letter and others written during her stay in Kiev form a freshly-phrased, vivid account of war conditions in that part of Russia. One thing that bears upon the present is brought out. Everywhere beneath the surface was the clammy feel of German propaganda. Each faction was encouraged to war against the other in order to confuse the minds of the people and destroy their perspective. As for the condition of the miserable Gallician Jews described in the letter that caused her imprisonment, one sentence tells their story: "They were beyond the point where they prayed to die."

The Air-Line to Liberty. By Gerald Stanley Lee. Kennerley. 370 pp. \$1.25.

A book of terse chapters written in the style of snappy newspaper editorials that call upon America to mobilize every man, woman and child, for the purpose of advertising the intentions of the United States during the war and after, to the nations of the world—particularly to Germany.

The Tree of Heaven. By May Sinclair. Macmillan. 408 pp. \$1.

A novel that is a dispassionate statement made by a procession of glad and sad marionettes, viz., England is worthy of her sons, and that the determination of the spirit triumphs over the filth and the physical torture of war. Lest disappointment follow a hasty glance, it is well to say that the technic of the narrative is so detached and sculptural that a careful reading of the book in its entirety is necessary to feel the power and relation of any part. It is as if before a curtain of English landscape, in the garden of a house in a suburb of London, wherein flourished the Tree of Heaven, there passed a procession of

figures that tell the story simply by saying to us *what they are*. There are the Harrisons, Francis and Anthony and their children, typical of the best in English life; there are the frustrate maiden aunts and the unhuman grandmother. And there is Veronica, the other inmate of the Harrison household, with her strange spiritual maturity and intuition that approximates second sight. These children grow up and pass into the defiled currents that ran through the life of London before the war—all save Veronica, whose spiritual poise saves her from the rack. Dorothy becomes a militant suffragette. Nicholas is caught in the toils of the decadent artistic crowd. Michael veers to strange political creeds. Other characters amble and make their bow to reveal cross currents, and the ruin wrought by lives led solely for physical indulgence. Then the war comes with its moral regeneration. One by one the children give themselves to its service. The young men die—almost monotonously, finding some compensating spiritual contact with absolute reality at the very end. We see no further than the present actual events. What the future holds, Miss Sinclair does not prophesy. She is content to make a statement.

HISTORY AND POLITICS

The United States and the War; The Mission to Russia; Political Addresses. By the Hon. Elihu Root. Harvard University Press. 362 pp. \$2.50.

Latin America and the United States. By the Hon. Elihu Root. Harvard University Press. 302 pp. \$2.50.

Miscellaneous Addresses. By the Hon. Elihu Root. Harvard University Press. 312 pp. \$2.50.

North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Arbitration at The Hague. Argument on behalf of the United States. By the Hon. Elihu Root. Harvard University Press. 445 pp. Ill. \$3.

In our issue for March of last year we gave several pages to an important set of volumes issued by the Harvard University Press, comprising the addresses and papers of Elihu Root. The six volumes described at that time as completing the scheme are all now available, besides which we have a very welcome seventh volume entitled, "The United States and the War; The Mission to Russia; Political Addresses." Mr. Root within the past two years has made several excellent speeches in which the high aims and friendly spirit of the United States are well set forth. As Ambassador Extraordinary and head of the Special Diplomatic Mission of the United States to Russia, Mr. Root made a number of brief speeches in Petrograd, Moscow and elsewhere which expound the principles of American democracy. It was with great hope and firm belief in the ultimate triumph of popular government in Russia that Mr. Root set forth upon his mission, and he came back in that same faith. Unfortunate as the immediate conditions are, Mr. Root would remind us of the trials and

tribulations through which every great nation has had to pass in its transition from autocratic to popular institutions. This last volume contains a number of formal Republican addresses made at national conventions and elsewhere.

The volume which includes the speeches made by Mr. Root on his South American tour has much to remind us of the great services rendered by Mr. Root in the cause of harmony among the republics of the Western Hemisphere. The settlement by arbitration at The Hague of differences between Great Britain and the United States over the North Atlantic coast fisheries dealt with an important subject; but far more important was the method employed to settle the dispute. Two great governments made use of The Hague Tribunal and reached a satisfactory result. Mr. Root, as Secretary of State, had signed the treaty providing for the arbitration. Afterwards he himself went to The Hague as chief counsel for the United States, and his argument occupies a large volume in the series now under notice. It may be said in passing that Mr. Root is fortunate in having for the editors of this notable series of volumes so loyal and capable a friend as Mr. Robert Bacon, and so scholarly a student and international-law authority as Mr. James Brown Scott.

History of the Pacific Northwest. By Joseph Schafer. Macmillan. 323 pp. Ill. \$2.25.

A revision of this excellent history, which originally appeared thirteen years ago, was made necessary by the accumulation of new materials, and in some instances a complete rewriting of the text was required. Furthermore, the changes of a decade in the States of our new Northwest have been extensive enough to call for new chapters. Professor Schafer's book leaves

nothing to be desired as a single-volume presentation of the Northwest's dramatic story.

Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley. By Louis Pelzer. The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City. 282 pp. \$2.50.

In these days of army reorganization almost everybody except the military specialist and historian has forgotten the existence of the First Regiment of American Dragoons, the mounted infantry who patrolled the Mississippi Valley and the Western plains from 1833 to the time of the Civil War. Until about 1850 this unit served largely in the Mississippi Valley in the work of frontier defense, garrison duty, exploration, and in the enforcement of Federal laws. These matters are all recounted in a volume prepared by Louis Pelzer and published by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

A Short History of Science. By W. T. Sedgwick and H. W. Tyler. Macmillan. 474 pp. \$2.50.

A whole library of entertaining biography, as well as history, is comprised in this single volume. The research required for so encyclopedic a task must have been enormous. The authors have lectured for many years on the general theme at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

A Short History of Rome. By Guglielmo Ferrero and Corrado Barbagallo. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 510 pp. \$1.90.

Ferrero's theory of Roman History, as well as his method of setting forth the facts, has been made known to the world through his "Greatness and Decline of Rome." In the present condensed work, prepared for the use of teachers and advanced students, the exposition follows the same general lines but the sketches are necessarily shorter and the narrative more concise. Otherwise the reader will notice little change of method.

Inter-American Acquaintances. By Charles Lyon Chandler. The University Press of Sewanee, Tennessee. 187 pp. \$1.25.

This book presents documentary proofs of the important part played by the aid and example of the United States in the Latin-American wars for independence a century ago. It shows how the speeches and writings of both North and South Americans led up to the Pan-American movement at the present time.

An Historical Introduction to Social Economy. By F. Stuart Chapin. Century. 316 pp. \$2.

An elementary introduction to general social and industrial history. The author analyzes agrarian problems, the productive systems of slavery and free labor, and historical changes in industrial organization.

The History of Medieval Europe. By Lynn Thorndike. Houghton, Mifflin. 682 pp. Ill. \$2.75.

This book traces the development of Europe and its civilization from the decline of the Roman Empire to the opening of the sixteenth century. It is intended to serve the college student and the general reader.

A History of the Reformation. By Elias B. Sanford. The S. S. Scranton Company, Hartford, Conn. 281 pp. \$1.25.

An intelligent and well-written survey of the epoch-making events that followed Luther's action at Wittenberg in October, 1517, when he nailed his theses to the church door.

The Irish Home-Rule Convention. By George W. Russell. Macmillan. 183 pp. 50 cents.

A summary of English, American, and Irish opinion relative to the Home Rule question, as considered in the convention that met last year at Belfast.

CONCERNING THE PRESS

A History of American Journalism. By James Melvin Lee. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 462 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

Mr. Lee has written the only comprehensive history of the newspaper press in the United States. Beginning with the colonial period, when the newspapers were few and far between, Mr. Lee traces the growth and development of journalism in America down to the present day. His volume is illustrated with reproductions of famous papers and striking cartoons.

The Country Weekly. By Phil C. Bing. Appleton's. 347 pp. Ill. \$2.

It is emphatically true that the editor of the country weekly has his own troubles and problems, for many of which an apprenticeship on a city daily would fail to prepare him. Yet we do not recall that any wise journalist ever before saw fit to write a book of advice to country edi-

tors. Professor Bing, of the University of Minnesota, has evidently thought it worth while to address himself to those young men who are thinking of going into country newspaper work as a career. He has written a book that answers their queries and offers a fund of useful knowledge as a basis of the rural editor's equipment. The rural editor himself would probably say that it meets a "long-felt want."

Printing for Profit. By Charles Francis. Bobbs-Merrill Co. and Charles Francis Press. 404 pp. \$3.

A master printer who has plied his craft in New Zealand, England, and America, and now at the age of seventy is the head of one of the leading magazine printeries of the world, should have something of value to say to his fellow craftsmen. It happens that Mr. Charles Francis has a great deal to say of practical importance, and the suggestions offered in his book as the

fruit of a lifetime of sturdy, constructive endeavor, are of interest not alone to printers, but to all who are even remotely concerned with the industry. On another page of this number Mr. Francis outlines some of the rules of living by

which he has kept his health and strength throughout an exceptionally active career. As the printer of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS his personality is of peculiar interest to the readers of this magazine.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS

Theories of Social Progress. By Arthur James Todd. Macmillan. 579 pp. \$2.25.

In this volume not only American and English, but also Continental contributions to the literature of social advance have been freely drawn upon. The world at this moment is looking for such a formulation of principles and in the reconstruction that is to follow the war men will be compelled to study the underlying data of human progress.

The American Labor Year-Book, 1917-18. Edited by Alexander Trachtenberg. The Rand School of Social Science. 384 pp. \$1.25.

The first part of this year-book deals with the effect of the war on labor, the extent of individualism, and the reaction of the Socialist and labor movements to the great war. The second part contains material relating to the labor movement in the United States, including accounts of strikes, labor trials, the railroad labor dispute, and brief histories of two leading international unions. The third part is concerned with the relation of labor to the law; the fourth deals with social and economic conditions in general; the fifth with the international Socialist and cooperative movements; and the sixth with the Socialist movement in the United States. The information is well digested and clearly and compactly stated.

The Organizability of Labor. By William O. Weyforth. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 277 pp. \$1.50.

A study of modern trade unionism from the American standpoint. Although the proportion of trade-union membership in the total of persons employed in gainful industry in the United States is only about 5½ per cent., the strength of unionism is not to be measured by this standard. The employing and salaried classes are, of course, excluded from the ranks of organized labor, and there are many groups of workers who are not yet directly concerned in the movement. Allowance having been made for these classes and also for workers excluded from the unions because they have not reached the required age limit, the percentage has been estimated at 18.4 per cent. Dr. Weyforth believes that the influences favorable to organization are likely to increase in importance in the future.

The Restoration of Trade Union Conditions. By Sidney Webb. B. W. Huebsch. 109 pp. 50 cents.

Looking forward to the end of the War, Mr. Sidney Webb demands in this brochure "a new settlement of industry on a basis that will secure to the wage-earners honestly and effectively what

they have really at heart; and at the same time allow to the managers of industry that freedom of initiative and power of direction which is, whether under individualism or collectivism, indispensable to industrial progress." Such a settlement would include prevention of unemployment, maintenance of standard rates, and the granting of an industrial constitution to labor.

Collective Bargaining in the Lithographic Industry. By H. E. Hoagland, Ph.D. Longmans, Green & Co. 130 pp. \$1.

This monograph gives the results of one of a series of investigations made by the writer for the United States Commission on Industrial Relations. Although the lithographic industry employs a comparatively small number of men, its labor problems share with those of other industries the basic principles of wage-bargaining. These general principles can only be determined by knowing the methods used by employers and employees in many industries.

The Theory and Practice of Scientific Management. By C. Bertrand Thompson. Houghton Mifflin Company. 319 pp. \$1.75.

A comprehensive and yet condensed treatment of the history, methods and results of scientific management, as we know it in America to-day. One admirable feature of the work is a section of nearly 100 pages devoted to the literature of the movement, and this is supplemented by a bibliography filling 37 pages. It should not be assumed, however, that Mr. Thompson's work is a purely "bookish" discussion of the subject. He has made a personal investigation of the workings of scientific management in more than 140 industrial concerns.

Liability and Compensation Insurance. By Ralph H. Blanchard. D. Appleton & Co. 380 pp. \$2.

The recent introduction of new principles in American insurance legislation has made imperative the publication of such a book as this. Dealing with industrial accidents and their prevention, employers' liability, workmen's compensation, and the theory of insurance as applied to these forms of liability, the book offers a helpful survey of the general field for professional and lay students, as well as for insurance specialists.

Fifty Years of a Civilizing Force. By Harry Chase Brearley. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 323 pp. \$2.50.

A history and a critical examination of the work of the "National Board of Fire Underwriters." An introduction is supplied by Wilbur E. Mallalieu, general manager of the Board.

Principles of Ocean Transportation. By Emory R. Johnson and Grover G. Huebner. D. Appleton & Co. 513 pp. \$2.50.

This volume contains a non-technical description of ocean carriers and their services, an account of ocean conferences and agreements, an explanation of fares and rates, and a description of the principles and practices of government aid and regulation of ocean shipping. All this information is made accessible and serviceable to the general reader who would otherwise be quite at a loss to find it. The statistics are brought fully up to date by the authors, both of whom have been specialists in the field for many years. Numerous illustrations, maps and diagrams accompany the text.

Forecasting the Yield and the Price of Cotton. By Henry Ludwell Moore. Macmillan. 173 pp. \$2.50.

The aim of Professor Moore's thesis is to show that the changes in the cotton industry which dominate the whole economic life of our Southern Cotton Belt are so much a matter of routine that with a high degree of accuracy they admit of being predicted from natural causes. In other

words, Professor Moore has discovered an economic, corresponding with the climatic periodicity of conditions.

Your War Taxes. By J. Frederick Essary. Moffat, Yard & Company. 178 pp. \$1.

A useful interpretation of the law passed by Congress last autumn, together with the full text of the enactment.

Income Tax: Law and Accounting. By Godfrey N. Nelson. Macmillan. 364 pp. \$2.50.

A revision of this helpful manual was required by the passage of the War Revenue bill of October, 1917, as well as of various amendments to the Income Tax Act of 1916, and the present volume is the result. This is a thoroughly practical work, giving direct answers to a multitude of questions arising in connection with the application of the income-tax rules to individuals and corporations, the determination of the war excess profits tax, and various other cognate matters. The latest decisions of the Treasury Department are embodied in the text. In short, the book is a practical guide for business men, lawyers, and accountants.

BOOKS ON PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

THE publication of Sir Oliver Lodge's "Raymond" has given impetus to the search for substantial proof that communication with the departed is a possibility. The average person interested in the subject of psychical research has a tendency to turn away from the dicta of men of science and honest observers, to charlatanism for information, because the average persons feels that science has been unsympathetic and lacked open-mindedness in regard to this subject.

The following books are suggested for those, who because of the events of the war, or for other personal or impersonal reasons wish to obtain the most recent conclusions on this subject, and also to keep those keenly anxious for some communication with the world beyond from the mental narcotic of hocus-pocus:

"On the Threshold of the Unseen,"¹ by Sir William Barrett, F. R. S., with an introduction by James H. Hyslop, carefully examines the evidence for survival after death. The author's personal experiences have convinced him of supernatural phenomena, but the emphasis of the work is placed on the fact that the psychical order is not the spiritual order and must not be confounded with it. From the psychical order proceeds much that is merely external, even though it be of the unseen world. Humanity must—if it wishes to commune with the dead—learn the laws that govern the spiritual order, that which the Church calls the "communion of saints." Mediumship and its attendant phenomena are as chaff before the wind of spiritual power. Mr. Barrett calls attention to a sterling work on

these matters, "Cosmic Relations," by Henry Holt.

"Physical Investigations,"² by J. Arthur Hill, gives a verbatim record of sittings with certain well known investigators, among them the medium used by Sir Oliver Lodge, for the messages in "Raymond." Mr. Hill holds that the Self continues, that individual survival has duration as well as extent beyond the bodily manifestation; that our individual spirits may be parts of a planetary spirit energizing through the earth as we energize through our bodies. And that even in this war, we may see the will of this planetary spirit, viz., the federation of the world. He asks laymen and men of science to face away toward the unknown after the manner of William James, for in that direction lies Truth.

A vigorous argument on the opposite side of the question may be found in "The Question: If a Man Die, Shall He Live Again?"³ by Edward Clodd, with a postscript by Professor H. E. Armstrong, F. R. S. Mr. Clodd holds that there has been no advance in our knowledge of conditions of existence in any after life from the dawn of thought to the present day. . . . That Spiritism is the old animism "writ large." Professor Armstrong asks investigators to follow the rules of evidence and logic in their investigations of the occult.

"The Adventure of Death,"⁴ by Robert MacKenna, discusses death as the "great adventure," and the question of the survival of personality in a series of chapters that are prophylactic in their poise and serenity.

¹ Psychical Investigations. By J. Arthur Hill. Doran. 303 pp. \$2.

² The Question. By Edward Clodd. Edward J. Clode. 313 pp. \$2.

³ The Adventure of Death. By Robert W. MacKenna. Putnam's. 197 pp. \$1.50.

⁴ Raymond, Or Life and Death. By Sir Oliver Lodge. Doran. Ill. \$3.

⁵ On the Threshold of the Unseen. By Sir William F. Barrett. Dutton. 336 pp. \$2.50.

THE TREND OF AMERICAN POETRY AND A GROUP OF ANTHOLOGIES

TO discover the trend of an individual American poet, search out his racial strain, his cell inheritances from his forebears, measure his environment, and envision the soil that bore him. This is the method by which Amy Lowell builds her volume of constructive criticism, "Tendencies in Modern American Poetry." The result is highly satisfactory. From a biological basis expanded in the facts of biography, one proceeds to the distinctive work of each poet with sound understanding. In an earlier volume, "Six French Poets," the work of certain French poets of the *Symboliste* and modern schools was brought forward; in the present volume Miss Lowell has analyzed and shown the diversified play of our particular nationalism through the work of six leading American poets who are each significant of a trend of contemporary verse. These poets are: Edwin Arlington Robinson, Robert Frost, Edgar Lee Masters, Carl Sandburg, "H. D.," and John Gould Fletcher. She believes that "poets are always the advance guard of literature, the advance guard of life."

Fifty years ago certain elements combined to shape the American poetry of that time—the changeful nature of the social fabric, the conditions under which people lived, the great unoccupied spaces, the constant warring and overcoming of nature, and Puritanism. It is the sweet sap of natures still under Puritanical restraint, but touched with passion and a poet's ardor, that she finds in Robinson and in Frost. The one strikes resolutely at stark truth, the other permits his nature to be a sensitive plate whereon impressions fall and are recorded with the delicacy of crystalline precipitation. "Mr. Frost," she writes, "is as New England as Burns was Scotch, Synge Irish, or Mistral Provencal."

Mr. Masters is revealed as the chief poet of our middle era, of our period of industrial and social transition. In the work of Carl Sandburg, the Chicago poet whose parent stock is Swedish, we find the vision of history that haunts modern poets, and feel with them the necessity for the revaluation of human types. The other two poets, "H. D." and John Gould Fletcher, are both Imagists; they elect to rediscover the aspects of the enfolded beauty of the world. In them there is that sharp differentiation that heralds poetic advancement. "H. D." is the pseudonym of Hilda Doolittle, daughter of Professor Charles Doolittle, for many years director of the Flower Astronomical Observatory of the University of Philadelphia. She is the wife of the English poet, Richard Aldington. Her poems are the voices of field and forest, flower and wave re-echoing from some far off Hellenic glade, poems like delicate etchings and utterly unlike anything written by other modern poets.

John Gould Fletcher was born in Little Rock, Arkansas. He is of Scotch-Irish stock, the son of an Arkansas pioneer who came from Tennessee. His work unites unusual technic with fancifulness and extraordinary fecundity and power.

Tendencies in Modern American Poetry. By Amy Lowell. Macmillan. 349 pp. \$2.50.

Miss Lowell's descriptive phrase is "a virtuoso of words."

No more entertaining or profitable volume of criticism for the student of American poetry is now obtainable. It is a worthy companion volume to "Six French Poets."

The yearly "Anthology of Magazine Verse,"¹ edited by William Stanley Braithwaite, contains a number of striking and unusual poems contrasted with much that is weak and of passing interest. It seems more uneven in quality than the collections of previous years. Mr. Braithwaite refuses to admit the latest ebullitions of the poets who make sharp cleavage from the older forms as "new poetry." There is no new, no old, there is only poetry. He finds, however, that there are tendencies and "schools," a state of affairs that never happened before in the history of American poetry. Perhaps not consciously, but an examination of volumes of verse lying forgotten on library shelves will discover that even *vers libre* and polyphonic prose and imagism existed here previous to the present "schools." He notes that American poetry pictures, as contra-distinguished from the poetry of Great Britain, a "fiercer tussle with the issues of life, a vibrant sense of the destinies that envelop the mind and soul of man," and that the poets are in the van of the spiritual conflict that must make "the world safe for democracy." The welcome critical notes about the books of verse and the magazine poetry of the year accompany the text of the Anthology.

There is a great deal of genuine pleasure to be found in reading an anthology of poems of the undergraduates of eighty-two colleges and universities, "The Poets of the Future."² Here is naturally enough immaturity and echoes of the past, but also great freshness and in instances sheer perfection in line or phrase. Many poems deserve high praise for intrinsic achievement and promise for the future. Among these are "Nos Immortales," by Stephen Vincent Benet (Yale); "To Josiah Royce," by Brent Dow Allison (Harvard), and "Immortality," by M. Edward Rosenzweig (Suffolk Law School). The collection has been enthusiastically edited by Henry T. Schmitt-kind.

"The Book of New York Verse,"³ edited by Hamilton Fish Armstrong, will appeal to all lovers of the great cosmopolitan center of American life. Poetry about old New York is arranged in order of events, and that of the modern city according to locality. The book is lavishly illustrated with reproductions from old engravings, fashion plates, wood cuts, and modern etchings and photographs.

"The Broadway Anthology"⁴ contains a collection of poems from the pens of four young newspaper men—Murdock Pemberton, Samuel Hofenstein, Walter J. Kingsley and Edward L. Bern-

¹ Anthology of Magazine Verse. Edited by William Stanley Braithwaite. Small Maynard. 412 pp. \$2.00.

² The Poets of the Future. Edited by Henry T. Schmitt-kind. Stratford Co. 320 pp. \$2.00.

³ The Book of New York Verse. Edited by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Putnam's. 447 pp.

⁴ The Broadway Anthology. By Edward L. Bernays and others. Duffield Co. 60 pp.

nays. It is recommended to those who wish to study free verse forms.

Joyce Kilmer has brought together in "Dreams and Images: An Anthology of Catholic Poets,"¹ those poems written in English by Catholic poets since the middle of the 19th century, most pleasing to his personal taste. The result is a distinct relief from the materialistic tendencies of the new poets, a collection that has the flavor of a missal. Religious poems, love songs, and war poetry reveal the minds and hearts of men who have lived by faith. Francis Thompson, Newman, Hawker, Coventry Patmore, Hilaire Belloc, Lionel Johnson, Katherine Tynan and Alice Meynell are generously represented.

"Poems My Children Love Best of All"² brings together in one volume a great variety of poems suitable for children from six to twelve years of age. A good way to do missionary work for poetry would be to distribute this book among American children. The work of many sterling poets, old and new, is pleasingly arranged and edited by Clifton Johnson. The illustrations are by Mary Bassett.

A comprehensive anthology of over 250 distinctive garden and nature poems from present-day poets has been arranged and edited by Mrs. Waldo Richards under the suggestive title, "The Melody of Earth."³ The poems are grouped in sections, each one a composite poem where meter and theme flow together to form an unbroken sequence of thought. Among these companionable groupings are: "The Gardens of Yesterday," "Pastures and Hill-sides," "Lovers and Roses," "The Lost Gardens of the Heart," "The Garden of Life"; (and for children) "Silver Bells and Cockle Shells." The introductory poem, "Earth," by John Hall Wheelock, admirably interprets the spirit of the volume. The deeper note is sounded in the first poem, "The Furrow," by Padraic Colum. Nearly all the younger poets in this country have contributed to this volume, and those English and Irish poets who have written of gardens and earth-magic. The aim of the anthology is to show us not alone the great beauties of nature poetry and garden lore, but how, by drawing near to earth's beauty, we shall be able to offer up to our Creator the supreme gift of Faith.

NOVELS AND TALES OF VARIOUS PEOPLES

A SURVEY of Russian literature translated into English during the last decade will reflect the fact that a decaying nobility which obstructed the working out of the lives of the common people has been one of the destructive factors that have brought about the present chaos. The class prejudice now existing in Russia, which results at least in temporary class legislation, has a parallel in the workings of the Florentine Commune in 1293, when the Ordinances of Justice made legislation in which "nobility itself was declared to be a stain on the honor of a Florentine citizen." And it is recorded that a system much resembling the one now temporarily established in Russia, which carefully excluded the best traditionally from the service of the government, really remained a basis of Florentine political life so long as the Republic lasted.

"A Family of Noblemen," a striking realistic novel by the greatest of Russian satirists, Mikali Y. Saltykov, tells the story of the decay of a noble Russian family, because of their inheritance of degenerate brain and nerve cells, that yield to the promptings of baseness, and are powerless to escape the influence of heredity, education, and environment. In this novel appears one of the most famous characters in Russian fiction, Yuduska, the Russian Pecksniff. "Our immortal satirist," writes the Russian critic Skabichevsky, "stands at the very head of democratic literature. He is the pride and glory of that brilliant literary epoch, which was the epoch of Dostoevsky and Turgenev."

¹ Dreams and Images. Edited by Joyce Kilmer. Boni and Liveright. 286 pp. \$1.50.

² Poems My Children Love Best of All. Edited by Clifton Johnson. Adams Noble Co. 256 pp.

³ The Melody of Earth. Edited by Mrs. Waldo Richards. Houghton, Mifflin. 300 pp. \$1.50.

⁴ A Family of Noblemen. By Mikali Y. Saltykov. Boni & Liveright. 422 pp. \$1.50.

More redundant, but to the same moral end, is the title story of a book of Dostoevsky's short tales—"The Gambler and Other Stories,"⁵ translated into English by Constance Garnett. The other stories, "Poor People" and "The Landlady" are among the most fascinating and least agonizing to read of the great Russian's entire work. The first is an idyl of the lowly, mostly in the form of letters, which is continually outpouring the pathos of the circumscribed lives of the poor; the second is a direct descendant of an Arabian Nights tale, and the forerunner in its enchanting unsolvability of the modern mystery yarn. One cannot forget the characters in "The Landlady." In no other Russian story can there be found such a limpid, moving expression of the terrors of sudden and exquisite love of youth and innocence.

Miguel de Cervantes wrote other novels besides "Don Quixote." "Rinconete and Cortadillo" now fortunately rendered into English, is a whimsical picaresque story, which ranks in Spanish next in popularity to "Don Quixote." Rinconete and Cortadillo are two boys of tender age who start out on a career of thievery. They find when they attempt to practise their rogues' art in Seville, that it may not be accomplished without let or hindrance, for in that city was a kingdom of thieves, with its hierarchy and apprentices and laws that paralleled other modes of life. The creation of Monipodio, the king of thieves, and the picture of his court marks the perfection of Cervantes' gift of satire. The translation from the Spanish, the critical introduction, and copious notes are by Mariano J. Lorente. The preface has been contributed by R. B. Cunningham Graham. Eight

⁵ The Gambler and Other Stories. By Fyodor Dostoevsky. Macmillan. 312 pp. \$1.50.

⁶ Rinconete and Cortadillo. By Miguel de Cervantes. Four Seas Co. 152 pp. \$1.50.

excellent full-page drawings by H. Atalaya, which preserve the spirit of the story to a remarkable degree, accompany the text.

In "The Modern Library," Boni and Liveright offer in the limp leather 60-cent edition, among other excellent reprints, one not sufficiently well known in this country—"A Dreamer's Tales,"¹ by Lord Dunsany. Padraic Colum writes in the preface, "Lord Dunsany is that rare creation, a fabulist. He is like a man who comes to hunters' lodges and says: 'You wonder at the moon. I will tell you how the moon was made and why' . . . Lord Dunsany would, I think, maintain that the one thing worth doing for mankind is to make their imaginations more and more exalted."

He lifts man's imagination in order to inspire him with a hostility for his own degradation, for mean cities and sordid material interests; he reminds us that the earth is plastic, that dreams can arise and shape it anew. Among these tales, there are those marvelous creations of fantasy: "Poltarnees, Beholder of the Ocean," "Bethmoora," with its lion-frightening light, "The Fall of Babbulkund," and "The Fortress Unvanquishable," Dunsany's variation of the theme of Brownie's, "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came."

"Alas, must ye go as a dream, and depart as a vision,
Sails of the olden sea?"

He who has not known the sea has lost the force of two-thirds of our literary imagery, and men who have not known the way of a ship in the sea have missed half the magic of the earth. "Wander-ships,"² folk stories of the sea, have been collected by Wilbur Bassett, Ensign U. S. N. R. F., and published with notes upon their origin. There are five stories that will serve to keep the traditions of the sea alive in the minds of men who have known only the age of steel and steam. They are "The Giant Ship," "Dahul," the Wandering Jew of the Sea, "La Belle Rosalie" (with notes on phantom ships),

"The Serpent Junk" (with notes on devil ships), and "The Stone Boat" (with notes on the death voyage).

The sweeping satire of "Gulliver's Travels" is delightfully depicted by Willy Pogany in color and pen and ink, in the new edition edited by Padraic Colum.³ The facts of Swift's troubled life, and the inner meanings of this inimitable wonder-tale are cogently presented by Mr. Colum at two angles, one toward the world of human intellect, the other toward the world of human



TITLE-PAGE ILLUSTRATION OF "GULLIVER"

fancy. The preface closes with the comment of Sara, Duchess of Marlborough. "Tell him

¹ A Dreamer's Tales. By Lord Dunsany. Boni & Liveright. 212 pp. 60 cents.

² Wander-ships. By Wilbur Bassett. Open Court Co. 132 pp.

³ Gulliver's Travels. Edited by Padraic Colum. Ill. by Willy Pogany. Macmillan. 296 pp. \$2.



"THIEF! THIEF! STOP HIM! STOP HIM!"

(From "Rinconete and Cortadillo," by Cervantes)

(Swift), it is the most accurate account of kings, ministers, bishops and courts of justice that it is possible to be writ."

James Lane Allen has once again written a book that equals "A Kentucky Cardinal" in charm, distinction, and the elusive spiritual genesis peculiar to Mr. Allen's work at its best. This time it is "The Kentucky Warbler,"⁴ a story, or a philosophy of life, as you choose to regard it. Part of the narrative gives the experiences in the Kentucky forests of Alexander Wilson, Paisley weaver, peddler, and school-teacher, who emigrated to America and became the pioneer American ornithologist.

As an antidote for weariness, there is nothing better than a volume which contains two stories by Henry Miller Rideout, "The Key of the Fields and Boldero."⁵ The first is a romance of three vagabonds in the South of France who dig up a Cellini platter from a Roman ruin; the second is a thrilling adventure story of the West that ends most surprisingly in London.

"Flame and the Shadow-Eater," by Henrietta Weaver, contains tales of the Far East, of India and Persia, some of which equal in beauty Bain's "Digit of the Moon." Certain tales retold from Oriental lore lose by their disguise; the author is far more effective in her original work.

⁴ The Kentucky Warbler. By James Lane Allen. Doubleday. Page Co. 195 pp. \$1.25.

⁵ The Key of the Fields and Boldero. By Henry Miller Rideout. Duffield Co. 375 pp. \$1.35.

⁶ Flame and the Shadow-Eater. By Henrietta Weaver. Holt. 330 pp. \$1.40.

FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE PUBLIC UTILITIES

THE proportions of the public-utilities industry are very little appreciated. Therefore, the measures that are required for Government financial aid have not had the support to which they are entitled.

The total bonded indebtedness of all electric light and power, street-railway, and gas companies in the United States is \$5,143,765,000. The amount of capital stock is \$6,206,878,000. This aggregate capitalization of \$11,350,000,000 compares with one of about \$17,000,000,000 covering the property costs of the steam railroads of the country. The approximate annual gross earnings of the three divisions of public-utility concerns are \$1,500,000,000, against \$4,000,000,000 for the railroads.

Public Utilities as Borrowers

It has for some years been accepted as an uncontrovertible fact that the steam roads should have an annual fund available for improvements and betterments of between \$700,000,000 and \$1,000,000,000, but, as a matter of fact, it has been so difficult to obtain new capital on a reasonable basis that their actual commitments during the past six or seven years have only been from one-half to one-quarter this amount. Prior to the war public utilities were employing from \$600,000,000 to \$700,000,000 per annum for betterments and extensions. In other words, they were more active as borrowers than the steam roads, and in numerous instances they were able to obtain better terms than were available to carriers of the second- and third-credit classes.

Government aid came to the steam railroads first. There were two reasons why this should have occurred. The first was that steam transportation had everything to do with the war program, and, for various reasons, transportation was not properly functioning. The second was that the securities of the railways were very widely distributed not only among individual investors, but with the savings banks and other institutions that were permitted to hold them by legal statute. The public utility did not figure as a very considerable factor in freight

transportation, but it was related quite closely to essential industries which were dependent on it for power and light.

War-Time Demands for Extension

It is estimated that 60 per cent. of industrial or factory power in the United States is provided by the public utilities. Nearly 20 per cent. of the heat required in the manufacture of open-hearth steel is provided by the electricity which these utilities supply. In every war industrial center new problems of transportation have been created. This is also true wherever the navy or the army has mobilized its forces for training or for industrial work. Consequently, extensions of traction lines have been required and new equipment and terminals have had to be provided, as 80 per cent. of the factory employees and a very large portion of men in training have been dependent on the electric street and interurban roads for their accommodation. Instead of moving 20,000,000,000 passengers annually, these lines are now probably being called upon to take care of an overload ranging from 15 to 25 per cent. in some localities, and in others, from 100 to 300 per cent.

Maturing Obligations

If they confine themselves only to the extensions demanded by the war the public utilities this year would have to find \$200,000,000 in new capital. But, before they are able to obtain this money, the question of meeting their maturing obligations has to be settled. These maturities amount to \$225,000,000. In the first seven months of the year they were \$152,000,000, of which over one-third was represented in the six-year notes of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company. Like the railways the public utilities recently had been resorting to short-term financing as the most available and the least expensive method. Nearly 60 per cent. of the maturities between January and July were of this character. The situation was not unlike that which faced certain of the railways three years ago when noteholders refused again to renew maturing obligations

and receiverships were precipitated. The added danger was from the fact that all securities were "frozen up," and that, so far as the public utilities were concerned, no legal agency had been established through which they might be thawed out.

In January a concern that ordinarily had high credit was forced to pay $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on a two-year \$10,000,000 note issue. In other cases arrangements were made by which notes coming due were in very small part paid off and the remainder taken up in new issues which cost the borrowers as high as 8 and 9 per cent.

Since the formation of the Capital Issues Committee an improved attitude to public utilities has been indicated and the interest taken by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency has brought from President Wilson the statement that "it is essential that these utilities should be maintained at their maximum efficiency and that everything reasonably possible should be done with that end in view. I hope that State and local authorities, where they have not already done so will, when the facts are properly laid before them, respond promptly to the necessities of the situation."

Attitude of State Commissions

This statement addresses itself to those authorities who have the ultimate welfare of the public utilities of the country in their hands; viz., the State commissions.

Railroad credit did not begin "to sicken and decay" until it became evident to the large banking and investment interests that the Interstate Commerce Commission had set up a permanent objection to higher rates for freight and passenger service and that it would yield very little to the evidence that operating costs of all kinds were increasing. The gap that ten years ago was so wide between the credit of the first-class railway and that of the public utility steadily narrowed as the limitation of earning power for the former was recognized and the rapidly expanding gross and net earnings of the latter became so evident in an era where the public utility accommodated the demand for services such as a nation of rapidly growing wealth required.

The fact was overlooked then that, among the State commissions, there was the same attitude to the rates which they control as was obtaining within the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission over interstate rates. So, when the public utility had

thrust on it the burden of higher wages of employees and rapidly mounting prices for its supplies, it could not, like the industrial company, pass the new burden to the consumer unless the rate-regulating body in its political division assented to such a program.

In most cases the commission dissented. In the final quarter of 1917, influenced by advances ranging from 20 up to 350 per cent. in materials, and in wages, from 40 to 50 per cent. over the pre-war period, the increase in operating expenses was \$290,925,000, as against a gain in gross earnings of \$229,000,000. This was analogous to the situation in the railroad field. In both instances a large increase in property investment brought no correspondingly increased property return.

Tables that have been submitted to the Senate Finance Committee show that so serious had become the credit position of the public utilities as a result of the lack of co-ordination between what they were called upon to pay to produce service of various kinds and the compensation they received for this service, that a decline of 53 per cent. occurred in the value of the common stock of seventeen leading companies compared with the high level of the last five years. In money value this depreciation was \$352,653,000. This is about the same degree of deflation that took place in a similar period in steam-railroad shares.

The encouragement for the investor in public-utility preferred stocks and bonds arises from the following new influences: that of government interest which, while not so direct or compelling as with the steam railways, is strong enough to enforce the policy of defending the utility against default, and, second, the change in the attitude of the public and of the State commission toward the compensation requirements of the utility. Already a large number of State bodies have allowed increases in passenger fares from the old established rate of five to six and seven cents per trip while various rearrangements have been made which add to the earning power of the corporation generating gas or electric current for lighting purposes. These, however, do not take up the slack nor is it probable that the most generous treatment that could reasonably be expected will accomplish this, including immunity from non-essential improvements, as paving, putting wires underground, making extensions, building stations, etc.

The assistance must be chiefly on the

financial side and through the government agency. It is well, therefore, that the temper of the Government is so well attuned to this emergency. Likewise, it is encouraging to find the managers of the utilities themselves disposed to assume so large a share of the burden. They have offered to levy a tax of one-half of 1 per cent. upon their annual gross earnings (this tax would produce

\$8,000,000) to establish a guaranty fund to recoup the Government for any losses it might sustain in advancing its funds or credits to utilities. The suggestion has gone even further: that the Government, as the lender, might charge the borrower 6 per cent. against the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at which it obtained its funds, the difference of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. being used to supplement the guaranty fund.

INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 923. FUNDAMENTALS ABOUT BONDS AND STOCKS

I would like some information in regard to stocks and bonds. Are bonds of railroads, etc., free of taxes, or does the owner pay the city and state taxes on them? Is \$100 always the par value of stocks?

First, to answer your question about taxation: Under the laws of most of the States, bonds are taxable as personal property, whereas stocks are exempt. This is a general statement subject to many exceptions. For example, some of the States exempt their own bonds and the bonds of their own municipalities, as well as bonds of domestic corporations. Other States exempt only the stocks of domestic corporations, while taxing all other stocks. Again, there are some States, like Massachusetts and Wisconsin, for example, in which it is only the income from securities that is taxed, rather than the securities themselves.

Under the Federal Income Tax Law, some bonds are free of taxes, while the income from others is taxable. Those that are free include municipal bonds, as well as the bonds of the United States Government, the bonds of the various States, and the bonds of the Federal Land Banks. The income from stocks, under the Federal Income Tax Law is subject only to what is called the super-tax, which is a graduated tax levied on incomes of \$5000 and over.

No general statement can be made in regard to the par value of stocks. Some have no par value at all, while the par of others varies all the way from \$1 to \$100 per share. With bonds, the standard denomination is \$1000, but many issues are made in denominations as low as \$100, and in some cases, as with the United States Government Liberty Loan bonds, for instance, the denomination is as low as \$50.

No. 924. A SHORT- AND LONG-TERM INVESTMENT

I have \$2000 which I would like to invest and would appreciate it if you would advise me a safe way of investing at a fairly good rate of interest.

We believe you would find it satisfactory to invest half of the fund in question in some good short-term security like the new issue of Procter & Gamble 7 per cent. notes, due serially from March 1st, 1919, to March 1st, 1923, and offered at prices to yield from $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. to $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; and one-half in a long-term security, pref-

erably one of the standard, well-seasoned railroad bonds, like Illinois Central Refunding 4 per cents., due 1955, now obtainable to yield over 5 per cent. net on the investment.

The notes mentioned seem to us to be one of the best of the current offerings of that type and class of securities, and the railroad bonds mentioned are representative of a general class that are legal for the investment of savings-bank and trust funds in New York State. Such a combination as this would obviously give you a high average degree of safety, and at the same time an average rate of net income of slightly more than 6 per cent.

No. 925. AMERICAN TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH

Please tell me what are the outstanding issues of stocks and bonds of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company and also the present quotations of each. I understand that the common stock has greatly fallen since the war, but that it still pays 8 per cent dividend. Do you think this stock has real value behind it, and that it will come up with the general rise in prices, and also do you consider it a reasonably safe investment at present prices?

The present amount of American Telephone & Telegraph stock outstanding is approximately \$436,000,000. This stock is all of one class. It has paid regular dividends at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum since 1907, and is now quoted at about \$106 a share.

The principal bond issues of the company are \$78,000,000 collateral trust 4 per cents., due in 1929, now quoted at about 83; \$79,000,000 collateral trust 5 per cents. due in 1946, now quoted at \$94; \$2,838,000 convertible 4 per cents. due 1936, now quoted about 86; \$13,000,000 convertible $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cents. due in 1933, now quoted at about 92; \$40,000,000 6 per cent. notes due February, 1919, now quoted at about 99; and about \$10,000,000 Western Telephone & Telegraph 5 per cents. due in 1932, assumed by the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, having no active market.

We have always thought well of the Telephone stock, and in spite of the difficulties under which the company is compelled to operate during these extraordinary times, we consider it a more or less attractive purchase at its present market price. It is not, of course, an altogether conservative investment, but it seems to be a proposition of a great deal of quality as stock investments go.